JPRS 83014
7 March 1983

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2114

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CSSR STEPS UP OPPRESSION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH

Amsterdam DE TIJD in Dutch 21 Jan 83 pp 30-32

[Article by Ton Crijnen: "Czechoslovak Church Goes Underground"]

[Text] The fifties have returned to Czechoslovakia. The Catholic Church is persecuted as during the darkest years of Stalinism. Priests are in prison, believers terrorized, parochial posts remain vacant. The church is going underground. "Unfortunately a clear decline in religious interest is not yet noticeable."

Bratislava, 20 February 1981. Engineer Premysl Coufal, bachelor and specialist in construction physics came home from a meeting. He complained to the manager of his flat that he was suddenly without electricity. The manager promised to fix the problem and Coufal left. In spite of this bad luck he appeared to be "perfectly calm".

Three days later Coufal was found dead in his apartment. Anxious colleagues alarmed the police because he did not show up at work. After a casual investigation the coroner's verdict was: "Most probably suicide." This surprised everybody as the victim was known to be very level-headed.

The mystery grew when the police only wanted to release the body if the family promised not to open the casket. Suspicious friends did this nevertheless and were horrified. The corpse was gruesome to behold. The face was literally bashed in, the left ear was almost torn off. There was a deep wound near the temple.

A private investigation revealed that Coufal, a devout Catholic, visited Rome in the summer of 1980. There he was apparently ordained to the priesthood, probably even in the rank of bishop. Everything took place with the consent of the Vatican.

After his return to Bratislava he was summoned by the secret police and confronted with photographs from Rome showing him in the company of compatriots. The police wanted to know what he had been doing there and to whom he had talked. In spite of repeated threats Coufal refused to give any kind of information. Not much later he was dead....

In all of Eastern Europe, with the exception of Albania, the Catholic Church is worst off in Czechoslovakia. There the oppression closely resembles the notorious acts of persecution of the 1950's. The only difference is that it is more concealed and therefore attracting less attention. Seminaries are deliberately neglected. Out of 13 dioceses 8 have no bishops.

Relations are so bad because the regime is afraid that the prominent role of the Catholic Episcopacy in neighboring Poland will inspire its own church to oppose the neo-stalinist reign of terror which has been holding Czechoslovakia in its grip since 1968. It considers increased religious interest among young persons and the emergence of a religious groundswell movement, not subject to the usual state supervision, bad omens.

In flowery official jargon it reads: "Anti-communist forces of Polish clericalism are out to establish bridgeheads to conjure up destabilizing powers in other socialist nations." (party newspaper RUDE PRAVO).

After the movement for civil liberties (Charter '77) with its leaders now in prison or deported, the Catholic Church has evidently become the next victim.

Shortage of Priests

The Church's position in Czechoslovakia is not comparable to its position in Poland. Although 80 percent (15 million) of the people are said to be Catholic, at least half of them have not been inside a church for many years. Church attendance is often actually impossible; an investigation (1979) showed that out of a total of 4,436 parishes, 3,175 are without a priest.

The government exacerbates this development by forcing the number of candidates for the priesthood down to below the absolute minimum needed. In addition to shutting down five seminaries, the two remaining ones--Bratislava and Litomerice--combined may not teach more than 112 candidates. And this only just in theory because last year there were only 75 seminary students.

Karl Hruza, who heads the State Secretariat of Religious Affairs in Prague, says: "This is because interest has sharply diminished." Church circles are emphatic in their denial. They claim that the call to the priesthood is many times greater, but they are not permitted to meet it. The Pope agrees, as he explained in his speech during the visit of five Czechoslovak bishops to the Vatican (March 1982).

The shortage of priests is intentionally even made worse as hundreds of priests are no longer permitted to perform their duties. The state considers them unreliable. If they ignore the prohibition chances are that, in addition to large fines they risk imprisonment for months, or even years.

Among the victims of this type of religious persecution are also five bishops: the theologian Dr Karel Otcenasek, Mgr Ladislav Hlad, Dr Kajetan Matousek, and the Slovak Jesuit Jan Korec. They have all been ordained but the

government refuses to approve their appointments. Based on historic rights it can exclude undesirable candidates.

Government interference even goes so far that permission is needed if three "approved" priests want to consecrate a mass together.

A clandestine protest of Slovak believers states: "Bishops and priests are themselves liquidating the Church. Compromised and weak members of the clergy are seeing to it that they are well off and they eagerly receive their Judas wages. They are after titles and baroque attire. They represent the type of feudal church which would serve any kind of government."

Contrary to the situation in Poland or the GDR, the Czechoslovak clergy has been divided for more than 30 years. Shortly after the communists assumed power in 1948, Chaplain Josef Plojhar appeared willing to form an organization of priests and religious leaders faithful to the regime: The Movement of Priests of Peace.

Bishops and lower clergy refused to cooperate and were fired. Many of them wound up in work camps or prisons. Such was also the fate of Archbishop Beran, then primate of Czechoslovakia (1949). Pope Pius the Twelfth excommunicated Plojhar but the Gottwald government rewarded him with the position of minister of health.

The "Prague Spring" of 1968 put an end to the activities of Plojhar and his opportunistic friends. The movement sprang up again in 1971 under a different name (Pacem in Terris: Peace on Earth) but almost the same leaders. Plojhar also made himself heard again: "World clericalism is a strong ally of world imperialism, and colonialism. To ward off this threat Christian believers should devote all their energy to socialist reconstruction." (1973).

It was the old song set to new music by Pacem in Terris: we must strive for a national church without ties to Rome ("world clericalism"). Although the regime professes to have good relations with the Vatican it is solidly behind this goal.

Towards National Church

Backed by the new government of Gustav Husak, Pacem in Terris was soon in a position of power. Seminaries and Catholic publications, including the Catholic charities, came under its supervision. The regime exercises power over the Catholic clergy via Pacem. Out of 3,200 Czech and Slovak priests, more than one-third are members of the movement; some for reasons of opportunism, others out of fear.

Thanks to Mgr. Josef Vrana, apostolic administrator of the Bohemian archdiocese Olomouc, and Josef Feranec, bishop in residence of Banska Bystrika (Slovakia), Pacem in Terris is indirectly playing an important role within the Czechoslovak episcopate. The bishops conference is chaired by Mgr. Frantisek Tomasek, cardinal and archbishop of Prague.

Tomasek is himself certainly no friend of Pacem, but he is too old (84) and lacks the energy to fight back. The only reason the old archbishop is kept in his position is fear that the regime would nominate Mgr. Vrana.

Nevertheless, last year Pacem in Terris suffered a painful blow. The Pope instructed the Czechoslovak clergy that priests could not hold membership in "societies with political goals". Even though Pacem argued that it is only a "peace movement" and therefore not subject to the papal prohibition, many priests thought differently, and rightfully so; dozens of priests resigned.

That Pacem's leadership was much more disappointed than it was willing to admit, became clear when Jan Maras, religious leader of the Catholic charities in Prague, rushed to Rome to obtain through unofficial channels a repeal of the prohibition. In vain.

Cardinal Tomasek and Mgr. Julius Gabris, apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Trnava (Slovakia) demanded that Pacem be dissolved but the authorities declined "categorically and definitively". Not for one moment will the regime consider letting itself be robbed of such a useful tool.

The 30 year old priest Anton Zlatchlavy of Kosice was sentenced to 2 years in prison; without a license he had collected money from his parishoners to restore the church's baptistery.

His colleague Trstenky of the Slovak parish Stara Lubnova was fired because before Christmas he had let the choir practice in the church. This constituted abuse of a church building.

Father Stefan Javorski of Spisska Nova who had already been in prison from 1976 to 1978, was again imprisoned for helping subdue a drunk who wanted to rape a woman. He was accused of hooliganism.

In Bratislava 11 students were expelled from their seminary. They had organized a strike protesting the fact that, in addition to compulsory lessons in marxism-leninism, they were suddenly also forced to attend weekly lessons under the responsibility of Pacem in Terris.

Chaplain Josef Lahuda was sentenced to half a year at hard labor. Without permission he had celebrated a mass at a youth rally he had organized. The same fate befell the Dominican priest Jaroslav Duka who worked as a laborer in the Skoda plant of Plzen.

Josef Svanda, a Catholic student of Brno, was found dead in a ravine in the mountains. The police pronounced it "suicide". The family insists that Svanda was murdered because he refused to spy on his uncle, the prominent theologian Tomas Spidlik.

The oppression inflicted on the official church has led to the emergence of a "catacomb church" which is still growing in significance. In dozens of cell parishes all over the country, but in particular in Slovakia, thousands

of people congregate illegally for participation in religious ceremonies and theological debates, including baptisms, teachings, weddings, and funerals.

This underground extension of the oppressed mother church has its own priests and bishops. Some of them were secretly consecrated, the rest consists of priests who are officially no longer allowed to perform their duties. If they are caught they will be imprisoned. Like the "laborer" Gunter Matej Romf of Bratislava who was fined and sentenced to 2 years in prison.

The "catacomb church" has its own publications which consist not just of many religious magazines but also of three illegal magazines which regularly expose abuses. INFORME O CIRKVI (Information from the Church) is the most important. In September 1981 two priests and four laymen were put on trial accused of printing religious reading material over a peiod of 5 years in a cellar.

It is remarkable how many young persons, students, but also laborers are signing up for membership in the parishes. The events of 1968 turned these young people once and for all against the Husak type marxism-leninism; its materialism hardly differs from the Western passion for consumption. The "catacomb church" presents a moral alternative.

The regime has a special grudge against what it calls "collective dissidents" (Slovak party newspaper PRAVDA). All means to destroy them are permissible: slander, blackmail, intimidation, home searches, and infiltration. A special section of the secret police is literally after "catacomb-catholics" day and night. It is especially fierce in Slovakia.

The government depicts the parishes as "secret breeding places of political and clerical anti-communism", but the parishes are, generally speaking, avoiding politics and the members do not consider themselves conspirators at all. This is the reason they intentionally do not call themselves an "underground" church.

A leading Czechoslovak theologian told the Pope that the people feel themselves emphatically united with the official church, they are only acting defensively. The relationship between the cell parishes and the official church is therefore completely different from, for instance, the situation in the Netherlands. However, Cardinal Tomasek's attitude towards the "catacomb church" is for tactical reasons very reserved.

The Husak regime's aggression against this form of church organization is based on fear that the religious underground movement will develop into an oppositional force involving the official church in resistance against the government. This is why Deputy Premier Matej Lucan warned: "We will not tolerate abusive attempts at turning the church into an anti-socialist opposition."

While the authorities go on with their attempts at "liberating disoriented young persons from the spell of mystic romanticism", interest in church and religion is growing bigger instead of smaller. Even State Secretary Hruza

had to admit some time ago that official church services are generally speaking well attended in Slovakia and Moravia.

While gnashing its teeth, the communist newspaper TRIBUNA concluded: "Unfortunately a clear decline in religious interest and activities is not yet noticeable, on the contrary.

In Czechoslovakia God appears to be a tough customer.

10319
CSO: 3614/50

USE OF TANK DRIVER SIMULATOR DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1982 (signed to press 14 Sep 82) p 301

[Article by Lt Col W. Drexel, instructor: "Tank Driver Simulator in Training"]

[Text] An innovation team from the armor and motor vehicle engineering section of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Army Officer College created a prototype of a teledrive simulator with the assistance of a team of reservists from the VEB Starkstromanlagenbau "Otto Buchwitz" ["Otto Buchwitz" High Voltage Plant Construction, State Enterprise]. Following a relatively short development and construction period, a training aid was put into operation which materially improves the effectiveness of training officer candidates in the subject of tank driving. At the officer college alone, according to experience up to now, it is expected that about 25,000 liters of diesel fuel will be saved per year.

1. Purpose of the Teledrive Simulator

The teledrive simulator is of help in the instruction of drivers of medium-size tanks. It enables the student driver to learn actions and to try out and repeat these deliberately. If the student is to master the subject, the instructor must be able to have him carry out certain controls and actions enough times so that he no longer makes errors. The student drivers are trained to go through courses of action in situations which can occur during use. For instance, coolant or oil temperatures as well as oil pressure can be changed so as to differ from prescribed operating values. The student driver must rapidly recognize such deviations and report them to the instructor and initiate appropriate measures.

2. Training Possibilities with the Teledrive Simulator

The teledrive simulator includes a cab, shift, control station and the terrain representation with camera guidance.

The student driver sits in a true simulation of the driver space of the medium-size tank. He can ascertain his position and his actions in the terrain. To enable him to do this, a television camera takes a picture of the terrain model which is displayed on a screen. The student driver sees the picture in a periscope. Oral communication is established between the driver cab and the control station by means of a tank intercommunication system. The cab has mobile support. In accordance with the roughness of the terrain, it will lean forward or backward. The sound level of the noise simulation depends on the position of the foot pedal. The noise is brought into the cab by means of a loudspeaker.

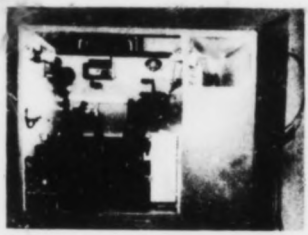
At the control station the instructor monitors the correct sequence of actions required to start eht engine. If this is not observed, the instructor can intervene directly. All further actions such as engaging the clutch, shifting, steering, braking, etc., can also be monitored from the control station. The camera speed relative to the terrain model depends on the gear selected and the engine's rotational speed. Every motion fed in by the student driver is put into effect on the terrain model. For instance, he can deviate from the track, avoid restricted thoroughfares and obstacles or drive up or around a tree. The instructor can at all times interrupt all actions of the student driver.

3. Limitations of the Teledrive Simulator

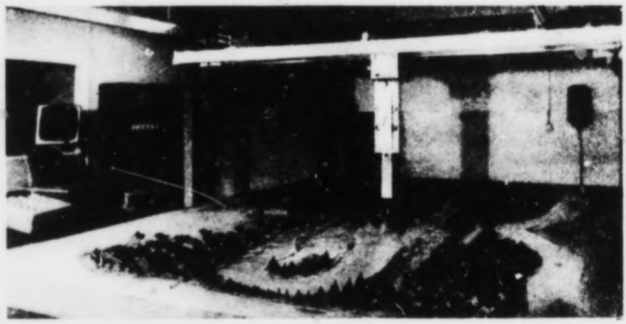
The teledrive simulator cannot replace the actual vehicle. Nevertheless, because of its design and construction it is a suitable means for further improvement of tank driver training. Because of limitations set by the high construction expense required to simulate everything faithfully, a few restrictions were allowed. This concerns, for instance, the transmission of track obstructions to the simulator. These are not taken directly from the track, but are instead fed in by the instructor. All controls can be actuated more easily than on the actual vehicle. The quality of the picture on the screen remains to be improved to come closer to real visual conditions.

4. First Test Results

Up to now the simulator has been used in a few units to prepare the first three driving lessons. The results essentially confirm what was expected. In the preparation of the first driving lesson with medium-size tanks, officer candidates were trained with the simulator. After approximately 85 minutes' training on the teledrive simulator the officer candidates were able to qualify on the first tank driving lesson. Performance was not inferior to that of officer candidates who did the first driving lesson with a real tank. For each officer candidate, 10 kilometers of driving the actual vehicle were saved. For officer candidates who trained on the simulator the total number of errors observed was lower, but the number of shifting errors was higher, than for other officer candidates. For this reason it is extremely important to piont out the differences between the simulator and the actual vehicle to the student driver before tank training is started.



Driver cab



Terrain model with camera guidance and control station

5586
CSO: 2300/85

ROUTINE OF MILITARY PHYSICIAN DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 51, 1982 (signed to press 13 Dec 82) p 5

['Soldier on Duty' features article by Lt Col Siegfried Posselt: "The Regimental Doctor: VOLKSARMEE During Morning Classification Office Hours with Lt Col Ulrich Hohmuth, MD--High Regard for Medical Service of John Schehr Unit"]

[Text] "What is your name?" "Soldier Karsten Meyer!"

"Why are you here?" The voice of Lt Col Ulrich Hohmuth, MD, rises only slightly with these recurring questions; it vibrates monotonously through the room. The morning classification office hours are underway. Whoever has any complaints presents himself to the regiment's physician. He decides whether the soldier is fit for the day's duty or not. Soldier Karsten Meyer fell on his right knee during training. Dr Hohmuth determines that there is swelling; he moves the leg, applies pressure here and there, and asks where it hurts... "You have water on the knee", he says. "You need rest." That amounts to: there is a bed for you at the aid station at the regiment's medical facility. Be quick about it!

Most of the soldiers waiting outside to be called have been in the John Schehr unit for only a few weeks. The burdens of daily duties are not yet routine. Lt Col Hohmuth, the regiment's physician for already 10 years out of 20 years of active duty, can appreciate the difficult adjustment to military life. He himself was a military police private in a motorized guard unit 10 years ago. This was before he began studying in the Military Medical Department of the Moritz-Arndt University in Greifswald. Declaring someone unfit for duty would only slightly help him. The swollen knee also needs an invigorating bath, elastic bandages during the day and a cold compress in the evening. Above all, it means getting use to the severity of training. He cannot take that away from them, even as a physician. But well-intentioned advise and a good word can help.

"The number of those ill is the chief measure"

To avoid any misunderstandings: Without exemptions from duty, things will not go astray. Whoever is sick, is sick. But Lt Col Ulrich Hohmuth, MD, has a principle: the patient's health condition has to remain under

control. Therefore, he exempts a soldier only for a few days, then he takes another look at the comrade and decides on his further treatment. Those who work with him believe in the same principle. After all, as the one in charge of all the members of the unit's medical service, he has the last word.

In many cases--and Soldier Karsten Meyer may belong to this with his swollen knee--he decides to admit the sick person to the aid station for two or three days as a prevention. If the sick person is medically cared for intensively, he should recover more quickly. Whatever the medical facility has will be used to help the sick person recover as quickly as possible: beginning with medicinal baths, through treatment with short waves, to ultra-violet and infra-red lamps.

No, it is not by chance that the regiment has had the division's lowest number of those ill. And Lt Col Hohmuth would not be a physician, officer and co-munist in a unit, if he failed to see the correlation between health and combat readiness. Only the healthy participate in training. Only the healthy do not let their comrades down; they create no gaps in the line.

A Good Reputation is to be Maintained

Still, the good reputation which the regiment's medical service enjoys, not only in its own garrison, but also in the next-higher staffs, is not all the result of a low number of sick-call. Many have contributed to the achievement of this reputation: Wanda, the medical facility's nurse; Ensign Schoedel, the instructor for the medicine's safeguarding; First Lieutenant Bickel, the former director of the medical facility; Grosse, the sanitation NCO. They treat broken bones, pulled ligaments, blood effusions, infections of the upper respiratory passages, stomach ulcers and mild cases of pneumonia at their regiment's medical facility. Sometimes they do more than is expected of them. In doing so, they lessen the burdens on other fixed installations; e.g. treatment time to recovery is reduced because intricate procedures are left out. They have developed the field-dressing station through complex training and have done better than the norm both day and night. They have done worh with simulated casualties under battle conditions and have earned a "very good" for it. For the seventh time they are the best medical facility. The officers of the next-higher staffs have greatly praised them after both final inspections of the training year for achievement in hygienic training.

Lt Col Hohmuth does not have time to reflect on how this reputation will hold up in the future; he must classify his patients during this early morning hour. That he will hold up is not at issue. All, who faithfully complete their tasks in the medical service, succeed. For weeks during the year he was away as a technical advisor for a film concerning hygienic training: "self and mutual aid on the battlefield". Elsewhere he was used to revise training documents. He learned much as this, and

collected experiences--even to the realistic presentation of a wound. All this will help in training. But he had little time for that in the regiment: first this and then that took a back seat. He had to make a necessary check here, settle an argument there. At the same time he did not always use the correct tone as he was always in a hurry. Even today, many of his subordinates are still cross at him for this. Now, his most personal interests press him terribly and he is happy when he can devote himself to them completely for an hour or so. All good intentions would be castles in the sky if they were not tightly connected to his medical service.

Lt Col Hohmuth feels in this instant the questioning gaze of Soldier Wolfgang Juengling. "You do not have to worry", he says, quieting him. "Your blood pressure is a little too high. You have hypertonia. You may, therefore, still be affected by this morning's nosebleed." The nasal mucous membrances are not irritated, nor flushed and not very bloodied from the nosebleed. This he saw with his speculum and mirror. In a week, he will know how the patient's blood pressure behaves during the day's routine. Two checks on that day will provide the information. "Drink only a little bit; carbonaded limonade instead of cola", Lt Col Hohmuth advises the soldier. "And stay away from salt!" But the treatment of blood pressure begins with a special diet. He looks at the clock: Tempus fugit. "Next man, please!" Sick-call, which began at 0630 hours, will last until 0900 hrs--like everyday of the week.

12247
CSO: 2300/125

GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Executive Board on Employees' Self-Government

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 20 Dec 82 p 2

/Article by (X)/

/Text/ A meeting of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board was held on Saturday, 18 December 1982. Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR KW /Voivodship Committee/ in Gdansk presided.

Executive Board members heard a report on the reactivation of workers' self-government in Gdansk voivodship enterprises. The statement was made that the self-governments whose work in enterprises is starting up again have undertaken the issues related to the implementation of economic reform, the implementation of production plans and the introduction of a new wage system. Since, however, the number of self-governments that have been reactivated is unsatisfactory, the discussion centered around determining the directions and forms of getting them reactivated, as well as the creation of new self-governments. It was noted that conditions likewise exist in militarized enterprises for self-governments to function, but that this requires some adaptation of regulations to the existing situation.

It was emphasized in discussions of the future of self-governments that in many enterprises in which workforces were not particularly interested in self-governments in the past, there is now an increase in employee activism and in programs aimed at reactivating employee self-government or at creating new ones.

Next, the Executive Board assessed the activities of plant teams for cost and pricing affairs in the Gdansk voivodship. They took a critical look at the work of these teams up to the present time.

To a great extent, the range of tasks previously performed by the plant teams must be assumed by self-government. On the other hand, the activity of the party teams for analyzing costs and prices should be more political; consequently, it must become less bureaucratic and formal.

Mieczyslaw Chabowski, PZPR KW secretary in Gdansk gave a report on the reports campaign in the voivodship organization. Executive Board members also learned about the current operating schedule of the campaign. After the discussion, the Executive Board approved materials for the KW plenum and discussed organizational matters related to the plenum.

The KW Executive Board was likewise briefed on the current sociopolitical situation in the Tri-CitY.

Plenum on Party Tasks

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Dec 82 pp 1,2,3,4

> /Text/ Yesterday /20 December 1982/ the second of two plenary meetings of the PZPR Voivodship Committee was held at 10 o'clock in the conference hall of the NOT /Chief Technical Organization/ in Gdansk. The primary subject of deliberations was an assessment of tasks and definition of the role of basic party organizations /POP's/ over the course of the reports campaign now being held. Candidate member of the Politburo, CC /Central Committee/ first secretary of the PZPR KW in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger greeted participants in the plenum, which included members of the voivodship echelon, central party authorities and invited guests. He then discussed the agenda of the two-part plenum. Part one was to include a report of the KW Executive Board, discussion of the report and the adoption of resolutions, while part two was to cover organizational-cadre matters.

KW secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski gave the report of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee KW Executive Board.

The first person to take floor in discussion was Stanislaw Pyzdrowski, first secretary of the Gdynia-Port PKP /Polish State Railroads/ station POP. Based on recommendations made by the members of his own party organization, he presented his view of the role and tasks of the POP in the current sociopolitical situation.

The speaker stressed the importance of the POP's, who are to put into practice the idea of linking the central party authorities with member masses. According to comrade Pyzdrowski, these contacts are to run in both directions: the authorities should be made aware of the problems of the particular POP's, and the POP's are to implement the resolutions of higher party echelons in a consistent and disciplined manner. Every POP must react quickly to current events, considering its reaction a matter of principle. It must also bolster the standing of the party organization within its own place of work.

Piotr Rajca, first secretary of the Wrzeszcz-Oliwa KD /District Committee/, discussed POP tasks with regard to the progress of the reports campaign within the district party organization. In the Wrzeszcz-Oliva district, the campaign has already been completed in POP's, plant organizations and school organizations. The speaker noted the shortcomings of the party work of these

organizations thus far as revealed in the course of reports meetings and conferences. These include the lack of intraparty discipline and the unsatisfactory preparation of particular comrades for political struggle and for work with nonparty members.

Comrade Rajca likewise expressed the fear that with the lifting of martial law, as workers' self-government is being set in motion and the trade union movement is being reborn, the POP's, deprived of their effective impact upon cadre policy, are not sufficiently prepared to fulfill their leading role in their workplace. He likewise brought up the necessity of reinforcing the POP cadre in smaller plants and enterprises (for example, construction enterprises), where the dispersal of particular services throughout the premises, and the lack of a permanent cadre frequently render party work within the place of work ineffectual.

Tadeusz A Sakowicz, first secretary of the OOP /District Party Organization/ at the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia, discussed the openness of political life and the credibility of party activities. According to Sakowicz, the POP program should include specific actions on behalf of working people, as well as winning them over to joint socioeconomic endeavors.

The speaker included among the major objectives of current POP activity party actions undertaken to ensure that the principles of socialist law-and-order are observed, to overcome bureaucratic barriers in the implementation of economic reform and to establish levels of employee remuneration based on real input. He also stressed the need for greater interest in POP activity on the part of the higher echelons, which should help the POP's to resolve their many difficult problems.

Next Zbigniew Jarecki, KW member, related his experiences from his 8 years of party work in a rural community. He stressed the difference between the conditions of party work in this milieu and POP work in industrial plants.

In rural areas, the POP does not have access to such technical propaganda-informational resources as local radio networks or their own duplicating facilities. This tends to reflect itself in the reduced party activism and discipline of the members of rural POP's.

In order to improve the quality of the work of rural party organizations, comrade Jarecki recommended that the party aktiv of these organizations be given broader organizational training and that it be equipped with the indispensable informational and instructional materials.

First secretary of the Polish Ocean Lines /PLO/ reserves OOP Czeslaw Drozdowicz likewise raised the issue of POP activity under the specific conditions of plant work. The post-August period affected the quality of party work in the PLO in a special way. According to comrade Drozdowicz, sailors are directly susceptible to the influence of western centers of ideological diversion because of the nature of their work. This, in combination with the lack of rapidly transmitted, factual information from land sources regarding the

developments at home, has weakened party work on ships significantly. That is why it is so indispensable that the effectiveness of ideological training be increased, that the standing of party organizations aboard ship be raised, that sailors be armed with the appropriate propaganda materials, that the system of ship-to-ship communications be streamlined, that the GLOS MARYNARZA I RYBAKA /Sailor's and Fisherman's Voice/ informational radio service be of better quality and that Polish foreign representatives be obliged to do more active political work with crews.

The speaker likewise recommended taking into consideration the issues related to programming ideological-upbringing work at sea within the framework of the cooperation of the voivodship echelon with the Higher School of Social Sciences /WSNS/ in Warsaw.

Wladyslaw Ciemniejewski, OOP secretary, spoke of the need for voivodship and central level activists to maintain close contact with the so-called party rank-and-file, i.e., the POP and COP. In another part of his address, the speaker turned to problems of political training, pointing out that training is too static and does not meet with the approval of the party rank-and-file. Our country has the WSNS and many scientific institutes for studying these problems, he said.

Wladyslaw Gontarski, secretary of the Gdynia-Port OOP, discussed the political stance of PZPR members. Using his own organization as an example he stated that in spite of the fact that many people have left the party for various reasons, there is still a large group of people who stand on the sidelines waiting passively. He asked what they are waiting for. He then continued, asserting the need for a survey of PZPR members, their attitudes and ideological commitment.

Tadeusz Nieroba, OOP secretary from the Heroes of Westerplatte North Shipyard, spent a significant part of his address speaking of the problems of cooperation of POP's with the ZSMP /Socialist Union of Polish Youth/. He said that unfortunately young people are not being won over either to social work or to cooperation with the existing organizations. They are distrustful; they stand on the sidelines and wait passively to see what time has in store for them. This is a disturbing situation that must be counteracted radically by shipyard political organizations.

Miroslaw Czernis, first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee /KG/ in Kolbudy, stated that in his estimation the materials prepared at the KW plenum that contain much information on the progress of the reports campaign in the voivodship party organization are too optimistic, since the real situation, generally speaking, is much more difficult than this.

In the next part of his address, comrade Czernis took a critical view of examples of the carelessness of party organizations and the limited role and significance of POP's in plants.

The last part of the Kolbudy secretary's address included an appeal to secretaries to take more interest in PZPR activists who are retired, as well as to show greater respect for them.

Romuald Boniecki, first secretary of the PZPR Interschool Plant Committee /MKZ/ in Tczew, spoke of the work of the KZ over the last period. The MKZ now associates 13 organizations for a combined total of 200 party members.

Its indefinite status as a committee does not facilitate its implementation of a broad range of very difficult tasks. Thus, a clear statements must be made of its rights and powers.

Anatol Bocianowski, first secretary of the DALMOR Deepsea Fishing Enterprise PZPR KZ /Plant Committee/ described problems of the committee's work with crews out at sea. This is a specific kind of work requiring a completely different approach by the KZ than its political work on land.

Henryk Kubaszewski, Sopot KM /City Committee/ secretary, addressed the socio-political situation in the Sopot party organization. He proposed actions for strengthening the role and function of party organizations in plants, since this determines the authority of the POP among nonparty employees. He recommended that the area voivodship and city echelon members become more active. They must be assigned specific party tasks whose implementation must be checked in progress.

Stanislaw Bury, OOP secretary from the NAUTA Shipyard, likewise alluded to the typical passivity of a part of our voivodship party organization membership. We must finally begin to demand from all PZPR members clear ideological identification and declaration. He recommended that party organizations continue their work aimed at purging party ranks of casual party members who lack ideological commitment to the party.

Roman Markel, secretary of the City and Hamlet Building Construction Management OOP in Wejherow, spoke on current construction problems emanating from the three "S's" of economic reform. Construction activity has suffered greatly from the fact firms take on projects at their own convenience and not because of the social need.

Jerzy Szczodrowski, member of the KW intraparty commission, pointed out that in 8.5 percent of party organizations, attendance at meetings is running below 50 percent. Despite a definite improvement in the situation in our voivodship organization, there are still organizations that need extensive help immediately. This is a great opportunity for higher-level party echelons.

Next, comrade Szczodrowski discussed the problem of the political activism of voivodship echelon members who are likewise active in many local organizations. We can and must demand political activism from them as well.

Stanislaw Dobrowolski, PZPR KM first secretary in Starogard, focussed on the problem of acting on people's complaints and grievances. The speaker gave examples of ZUS /Social Security Agency/ bureaucratism; months pass, and still people do not begin to receive the pensions that are due them. He recommended that local ZUS branches have the right to pay out pension advances until pension claims go through definitively.

Next, PZPR KW first secretary Stanislaw Bejger took the floor. He stressed that the major problems of party work in the POP's and OOP's had been brought to light in the plenary meeting discussion. The speaker said that recently there has been a significant increase in the activism of basic party cells and an improvement in the level of party ideological work. The quieting of moods is evidence of our progress in this field. The three attempts in recent months to bring people out into the street and the organizing of strikes undertaken by the political opposition have not yielded results for a reason. Our opponents have not found a hearing among society, but the struggle is still not ended and demands our total vigilance and mobilization of forces. Every POP and OOP must be master within its own area and consider itself responsible for the sociopolitical situation.

During the current period, the front of struggle has shifted from political issues, an area in which our opponents have not succeeded, to economic and social/daily living problems, said the PZPR KW first secretary. Thus, we must implement consistently the program of the Ninth Party Congress and the Central Committee Plenum. We must implement these tasks concretely, for only in this way will we gain social credibility.

Stanislaw Bejger likewise stressed the need for verification of the implementation of the motions made by party organizations at all levels, as well as the need for party activists who are members of party echelons to become engaged in political work.

Further on in his speech, Stanislaw Bejger pointed out the most important directions of operation of the organization during the coming period of particular difficulty for the KW. He stated that the party must find allies in the trade unions, PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ and other organizations, which are becoming more and more active in the social realm. The speaker concluded his address with an appeal to all PZPR members to become engaged actively in party activity and in the activity of their local organizations.

Next, during the organizational part of the plenary meeting, Mieczyslaw Chabowski proposed that a vote be taken on the motions to cross of from the list of KW plenum members three comrades who have not been active enough in party work. The plenum approved this motion unanimously. Next, plenum members elected Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska to the echelon in secret ballot. She was also elected a member of the KW Executive Board as Gdansk PZPR KW secretary for science and education affairs. Of the 81 participants authorized to vote, 74 comrades voted to accept the nomination.

As deliberations concluded, plenum members heard reports prepared by PZPR KW employees concerning steps taken to reactivate workers' self-governments and to organize trade unions and PRON structures within the Gdansk voivodship.

Plenum Resolution

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Dec 82 p 2

/Text/ The Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, assembled at a plenary meeting on 20 December 1982, having heard the report of the KW Executive Board, accepts the statements and evaluations therein contained.

It notes that the statements contained in the report should be discussed at POP and OOP meetings, so that these ideas may be applied to the local situation and to plans for future political work.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee recognizes that the further development of the sociopolitical situation in Poland is highly contingent upon the law passed by the Sejm concerning a change in the law on special regulation under martial law and on special regulation during the period of the suspension of martial law, as well as a Council of State resolution dated 19 December 1982, concerning the suspension of martial law. This is the result of the consistent implementation of party policy conducted in the spirit of PZPR Ninth Congress resolutions and of society's political maturity.

This imposes upon party members the obligation of intensifying ideological-upbringing work within their particular surroundings and the continued inculcation of workforces and society with the view that honest work and discipline at every work station are fundamental to the improvement of the national economic situation.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee, assessing the state of the voivodship party organization on the basis of the level of implementation of political goals in the reports campaign, asserts that by comparison with the situation before 13 December 1981, significant progress has been made in the style and methods of party work. This has had the effect of consolidating the ranks of the voivodship party organization.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee recognizes that the most important tasks of future activity include:

I. Voivodship-level Tasks

1. The undertaking of activities to preserve the attained level of party consolidation and social stability in all milieus.

2. The inclusion in reports of results attained in the voivodship in the sphere of economic, sociopolitical and cultural activities under martial law.

3. A running account of major social and political dangers in the voivodship in conjunction with the suspension of martial law and the establishment in this area of guiding tasks for first-degree echelons, the KZ, POP's and particular party members, as well as the directors of enterprises and the state administration, in an effort to eliminate these dangers.

4. Improving the system of control and implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and plenary meeting of the PZPR KC /Central Committee/ and KW as bases for building the unity of party activity.

5. Increasing the activism of KW members and the elected officials of echelons in active political life through their active participation in work assigned on the basis of POP/OOP orders, expressed in their participation in party meetings and other forms of party work, especially in their place of residence.

6. The broader use in ongoing political work of the substantial help of party apparatus workers.

7. The KW Executive Board's establishment of detailed tasks in the area of strengthening echelon and POP/OOP ties with society, and especially with the working class.

8. A running report on those milieus in which special actions must be undertaken to strengthen POP's.

9. The improvement of written political information for POP's/OOP's.

II. At the First-Degree Echelon Level

1. Actions strengthening the process of the creation of self-governing structures of the socialist democracy, and in particular:

--the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth /PRON/ in plants, communities and places of residence;

--employee self-governments in the area of the creation of the political-social premises and conditions for their reactivation as soon as possible;
--trade unions in the area of the creation of the necessary atmosphere and increase in worker activism for the rebirth of the union movement and the work of unions on behalf of workforces.

2. Increased activism leading toward greater cooperation with small basic organizations and local party organizations.

3. The initiation of permanent forms of political-organizational training for secretaries and the POP/OOP aktiv.

4. The undertaking of activities to rebuild party groups and the creation of forms and methods of work with groups, as well as the strengthening of their position.

III. At the POP/OOP/TOP Local Party Organization Level

--an increase in party discipline through the continued universal dissemination of the content of PZPR Ninth Congress resolutions and the PZPR statute, as well as the consistent enactment of their provisions;

--the assignment and verification of the implementation of party orders as a basis for the increase in individual activism of party members;

--the increased efficiency of party group work by making POP's the real link between the particular milieu and the party organization, thereby naturally expanding the basic of public information;

--the molding of the political attitudes and views of the milieu by party members. The implementation of this task should be bolstered by ideological training providing party members with current argumentation for the political struggle;

--the streamlining of the system of circulating party information between the echelon--the POP--and the party members by reactivating POP readers and by creating a communications system responsible for the flow and distribution of information among POP members;

--an increase in requirements for party members serving in leadership capacities in the state and economic administration, and an increase in their responsibility for implementing party policy;

--the ongoing verification and evaluation of administrative actions taken to eliminate tension and dissatisfaction in work relations and social/daily living matters;

--the active entry of PZPR members into the process of reactivating self-governments, trade unions and PRON;

--the utilization and dissemination of valuable experiences emanating from cooperation with the ZSL /United Peasant Party/ that are helping to facilitate the problems of rural communities faster and better;

--concentration on the full implementation of the provisions contained in the "Assumptions of Political Work in Rural Areas for the Fall-Winter 1982/1983 Period" and on the guidelines contained in the KW Executive Board operating schedule dated 21 October 1982 which outline tasks in rural political work; concentration on the universal dissemination of the law on sociovocational farmers' organizations;

--in all enterprises and milieus that have not yet held elections or that have not had elections to restaff self-governing organs, actions taken to ensure that they will take place according to the law on self-governments and that the best representatives will be elected to self-governing organs;

--in the first quarter of 1983, to conduct meetings to analyze thoroughly the economic situation of enterprises and their operating conditions, and to draw up recommendations on this basis for the activities of party members in organs of workforce self-government (or to prepare proposals for making workforce demands known to organs of self-government);

--to undertake activity for defining those issues whose resolution by organs of workforce self-government is most urgent in the light of Tenth KC Plenum tasks. In those matters that the POP considers to be especially important, its opinions should be expressed for use by the organs of self-government. In adopting a particular opinion, the POP is obliged to take action to gain the approval of the enterprise workforce regarding this opinion;

--an immediate reaction in every case in which the interests of one citizen are at odds with the interests of society in general, aimed at eliminating the sources of this conflict.

The Voivodship Committee obliges the KW Executive Board, the executive boards of first-degree echelons and the KZ's/POP's/OOP's to make an ongoing, systematic assessment of the implementation of the preceding resolution, and to give and accounting of the results they have achieved at semiannual meetings of executive boards.

The Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations
Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KW in Gdansk
Gdansk, 20 December 1982

Executive Report by Mieczyslaw Chabowski

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Dec 82 pp 3, 4

/Speech by Mieczyslaw Chabowski, secretary PZPR KW in Gdansk on 20 December 1982 in the conference hall of NOT Technicians' Hall in Gdansk/

/Text/ Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

The Ninth Extraordinary Congress of our party formulated a program of the socialist rebirth of Poland, a program of our emergence cut of socioeconomic, political and moral crisis. The Polish United Workers' Party, continuing a century-old tradition of the Polish workers' movement, has marked out its goals. We are struggling for socialism, struggling to ensure calm and order and struggling for the continuous development of our country and our society in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life.

Since August 1980, we have lived through a great deal and we have travelled a difficult road. We halted the speeding locomotive of destruction and undoing, the breakdown of international ties and detente. As experience has shown, martial law's imposition on 13 December 1981 was at no time a punishment meted out at society, at working class interests. Its thrust was directed against anarchy, license, lawlessness, at the sowers of social unrest, and at the political and destructive activity of socialisms's enemies in Poland and their supporters abroad.

The purpose of martial law was to block the path of the forces that were driving the country to the brink of a precipice, to avert a national tragedy and to avoid fraternal bloodshed, to save the Polish state from ruin, to

restore basic social discipline and the operation of the state and the economy and to create conditions enabling the implementation of the sociopolitical and economic reforms passed at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress.

We have the right today to state that the consistently implemented political line has brought and continues to bring positive results expressed as our progressive political, social and economic stabilization.

In October and November, our enemy did not receive society's support of his plans. The call for a general strike on 10 November was a complete fiasco; no demonstrations were held on our city streets either. The social attitudes already manifested then have become more and more apparent within the past few days. Our enemy intended to take advantage of the anniversary of the tragic December events on the Coast to sow social unrest and confusion. These forecasts did not come to fruition. The working class honored the tragic anniversary of December 1970 with dignity and calm. The coordinated activity and activism of party members, the party echelons and the managerial cadre, especially middle management, supported by the work and commitment of the Polish People's Army, the Citizen's Militia and the Security Service, has allowed us to keep political initiative going in plants, institutions and communities. The unleashing of these positive attitudes is the result of noticeable changes in the social and economic sphere. It is also important that we have created indispensable conditions for the normal functioning of state institutions, strengthening social and work discipline. As a result, we have ensured the more effective protection of public order, the safety of citizens and public and private property.

At the same time, we have been consistent in restoring economic control. We have rebuilt many of the coproduction ties that were broken as a result of the chaos occurring in 1981, and because of the economic blockade and the numerous restrictions applied by other Western countries. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp have given us vital assistance in surmounting these economic difficulties.

We have prepared a three-year plan for overcoming the major sources of economic crisis in Poland, for surmounting market difficulties and curbing inflation. We have increased industrial production to activate agriculture and the development of farm production. May difficulties have been overcome in the mining industries.

At the same time that we have been getting the situation under control in particular subsectors of the economy and fields of life, we have embarked upon a program of reforms, thereby creating firm bases for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing domestic life. One of our most significant ventures under martial law was the move to implement economic reform. The reform has not changed our economic and market situation, for reform could not make any appreciable change in so difficult a situation. However, it is helping us more and more to overcome numerous economic-production problems in our region.

During martial law as never before, the PRL Sejm worked with great intensity. From 1 January 1982 to 1 December 1982, 45 laws were prepared and passed,

including 35 new legal documents. Thus, martial law in Poland not only did not limit the effectiveness of the highest organ of constitutional authority, as generally happens when martial law is declared in a country, but on the contrary, it caused the work of the Sejm to be stepped up. Thanks to this, an entire series of new and improved legal regulations was created, in accordance with the intentions of the Ninth Congress and working class demands. In this way, the foundations were laid for the regeneration of the economy and for the entire structuring of sociopolitical life according to new principles that are more favorable to the building of national understanding and help to strengthen respect for work, social justice and the class character of the state.

All these events, decisions and initiatives have caused society to reevaluate its views of our party's Ninth Congress program and the actions of the people's authority. Many people who formerly looked askance at any party and government initiatives and took a negative view of developments after 13 December 1981, have now begun to think that they were perhaps in error, especially since recent Sejm decisions have confirmed a consistent line of operation.

The stabilizing of the sociopolitical situation had a favorable impact upon the status of the party aktiv. The conviction grew among its ranks that the party line implemented by the Central Committee, the CC Politburo and the Voivodship Committee is the right one, and that it is possible to achieve effectiveness in operation.

The overall assessment of the positive trends toward change in social attitudes cannot hide the fact that this process is not occurring in equal measure and simultaneously in all circles. It is true that we have concentrated the attention of echelons, organizations and the party aktiv primarily upon the workers' community. Here we find the greatest progress. Party organizations have become stronger, and party links with employee workforces are being renewed.

The most difficult and complex situation is that of intelligentsia circles. At present, part of the intelligentsia is receptive to the slogans of the political opposition. It is especially disturbing that part of the teaching cadre of institutions of higher learning is subject to this influcence, which in turn has a negative impact upon student attitudes.

A Catholic world-view is also prevalent in some milieus. Where this forms patterns of patriotism, respect for work and the joint creation of new values, this influence is necessary. However, it frequently happens that when some young people face a crisis or have problems, they treat the Church as an alternative to the state, as its opponent. When the Church is used in this way to perform the tasks of the opposition, inner frustration develops and some young people become fair game for political manipulation.

Comrades!

The slow, difficult process of normalizing and stabilizing life in Poland is restoring hope. However, the road that lies before us is still full of

potholes, dangers and threats to the process of normalization, renewal and progress. Our political opponents are not laying down their arms. They are now considerably ennervated morally and organizationally, but their strategic goal remains the same--the overthrow of socialism in Poland. With this in mind, they will modify their means and methods of conducting battle, adapting them to the progressive normalization of life in Poland and the moods that are taking shape in particular circles.

Strikes and street demonstrations, as well as other methods of brutally applying pressure, have lost popularity both among the working class and in other milieus. These will be replaced gradually by more subtle methods of struggle that allow our opponents to create a sham defense of ideals and values, playing upon national and even class feelings. This idea of struggle enables our opponents to continue to exercise a destructive impact upon the consciousness of society, especially to younger generation.

This concept may be implemented through a political-propaganda campaign aimed at undermining the principles of economic reform and discrediting the concept of self-government, or the idea of the creation of PRON or the trade unions based upon the 8 October 1982 Sejm law.

Our opponents are aware that the party leadership and the government, implementing the resolution of the Ninth Congress, has already created the framework of the new model of operation of the economy and of the organization of vocational, social and citizens' activism. Consequently, the commitment of the working class and other social groups in constructive activity, within the framework of the model that has been created, will mean undertaking the active implementation of the reform program. This opens up an opportunity for revitalizing the economy, and for eliminating more rapidly the numerous difficulties currently engendering dissatisfaction. This turn of events will bear interest in growing social optimism and the continued reduction of tensions, which relegates the opposition to a position on the fringes of life and means their total defeat in the future. It likewise means the impossibility of maintaining the atmosphere of an uncertain tomorrow that was of such advantage to the opposition. It is only the preservation of this atmosphere that can enable our opponents to make maximum use of their forces, to block the positive attitudes of the still inactive part of society. They will likewise attempt to attain the goal by pointing out the basic difference of opinions regarding the tactics being used to overcome the crisis, and will thereby attempt to weaken the unity of action of our party.

Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

The tasks that confront us can be fulfilled only by a party that is ideologically uniform and organizationally efficient. This leads to the question: What kind of voivodship organization do we have today and what are its basic elements like? What are the scope and depth of positive changes?

During the last 12 months, positive changes have occurred in the work of basic and district party organizations. A halt has been called to the process of the

sudden drop in member in party organizations within our voivodship that often took the form of the impulsive turning in of membership cards. This process increased during periods of social tension. Those who left were mostly people with loose ties to the party and those who were led astray and could not withstand the pressure of our political opponents, the annoyances and the slander. However, some of those who left were valuable individuals, particularly the workers. This group gave up their membership cards in protest of the progressive anarchy of social life, the weakening of party discipline, the breakup of the party and the deepening distrust. The mass exodus was accompanied by a reduction in the number of candidates accepted.

After 13 December 1981, as a result of Seventh CC Plenum deliberations, the process was initiated of actively purging the party of people who were passive and frequently opposed ideologically. This created conditions for the party's convalescence through the regeneration of basic party elements. In our voivodship, the POP's made most of the decisions to cross members from party rolls.

During the first 4 months of 1982, party membership in the Gdansk voivodship declined by nearly 8,900 members and candidate-members; during the next 5 months, membership decreased by only 734 members, and during the period of the reports campaign itself, party organizations made decisions to dismiss or cross from party rolls only 770 persons. At the same time, POP's accepted 39 candidate-members during the campaign. In 1982, we accepted a total of 145 comrades. It is of special importance that the vast majority of these are workers.

The changes in party membership caused changes in the quality of the party aktiv. Following the reports-election campaign that was held before the Ninth congress, over 50 percent of the POP secretaries were new to their positions. The renewal of the aktiv, a desirable phenomenon within the party, was likewise accompanied by a perceptible need to increase the help of echelons in organizational work and by the increased intensity of deepening ideological-political knowledge. A significant majority of our aktiv, which has been subjected to a difficult trial, possesses the indispensable predisposition to political struggle. This is the result of the intensive work carried out this year by the leaders of party echelons in constant contact with organizations. The creation of the Voivodship Party Schools and the change in the style of work of the party apparatus likewise served this purpose.

The importance of party meetings grew. While 60 percent of all POP's held monthly meetings last year, this increased to 95 percent in 1982.

This is extremely important, since the meeting of the party organization is the basic form of party work. Its purpose is to prepare a common line of action of party members within their own milieus. The lack of meetings inhibited the formation of interpersonal ties, which cement the party and unite people in action.

We must see that the POP goes beyond the formal ties of participation in meetings and dues-paying to become a natural forum for colleagues and comrades

working together in shops and departments to meet. How often it happens that party members, even within a POP numbering only a dozen or so members, do not know each other's concerns, problems and difficulties. We must begin party openness and a feeling for human affairs with our own groups and extend them to our work environments, our places of residence and our activities.

Sixty percent of our membership is present at this meeting. While this number is greater than in the past, it is still unsatisfactory. On the hand, a few meetings have an attendance rate of less than 50 percent, which means that some of our groups within the community continue to be indifferent and lack discipline, sometimes because they do not believe that we can be effective. This applies especially to small organizations and organizations that operate within nonworker milieus, especially in education, science and culture, and in some rural organizations.

Another indication that the party is getting stronger is the increased activism of members at meetings. During the first past of this year so-called meetings of silence frequently took place, but in time this phenomenon disappeared. The number of active participants has increased.

The atmosphere of meetings and discussions has taken on a substantive, more concrete character. Most discussants aim at the creative and constructive, but at the same time critical resolution of problems of their own plant, institutions and milieu. Another indication of the qualitative changes in POP work is the scope of subjects brought up and the manner in which problems are resolved.

The subject matter of most party meetings emanates from the implementation of the program of the Central Committee and the upper echelons and likewise has been compelled by political events. On the one hand, this attests to the discipline maintained in the implementation of tasks outlined in resolutions of higher-level echelons; on the other hand, it complicates the adaptation and programing of POP work according to the needs of one's own milieu.

Under the new realities underlying party work in the coming months, we will have to implement jointly and more consistently those resolutions that have already been passed, while sharpening our skills of giving greater attention to the problems of our own local groups.

Comrade Ladies and Gentlemen!

The positive trends marking the work of the party voivodship organization over the past year should not make us complacent. We must be aware that these positive tendencies have not taken place in all organizations in equal measure. This was confirmed by the way reports meetings ran in party groups, OOP's and POP's.

The report campaign program of the Gdansk voivodship party organization adopted at the September KW plenum centered around the attainment of the political goals contained in the guidelines of the party CC Politburo.

The campaign at the level of party groups, the OOP and the POP was concluded by 15 December. The deadlines for completion of the campaign was changed in line with the operating schedule of the KW plenum. This was dictated by the need for the OOP's/POP's to undertake subject matter related to the implementation of the Sejm law on trade unions and the need to counteract attempts to provoke social unrest and strikes.

Some party meetings were postponed because of poor attendance or lack of preparation. For the most part, this affected weakly operating or small groups. In rural communities, meetings were frequently potpostponed due to fall field work.

The course of the campaign shows that it was well prepared. The activisim of party echelons and organizations that were simultaneously engaged in the struggle with our political opponent ensured that it would run smoothly.

The atmosphere of most party meetings was favorable. Statements were substantive and weighed carefully, although where it was warranted they were stern and critical. Reports meetings in large industrial enterprises ran most smoothly. Members of these groups showed support for consistency in the implementation of the Ninth Congress political line.

Local plant, institutional and group problems dominated reports and discussion, and these determined the climate and course of meetings. Some meetings did occur in an atmosphere of passivity and despondency. There were also meetings of silence, especially at the party group level.

Generally, however, the course of reports meetings demonstrated a distinct improvement in the political atmosphere in party organizations and in particular milieus.

Participants in meetings concentrated on an assessment of the degree of implementation of programs of action adopted at reports-elections meetings, as well as on evaluations of progress in the implementation of group resolutions, the resolutions of the PZPR Ninth Congress and plenary meetings of the CC, KW resolutions and resolutions of first-degree party echelons. These reports show that the programs adopted during the reports-elections campaign have not always been kept current. Hence the need to make program revisions concretizing Ninth Congress and KC plenum resolutions. In accordance with guidelines, these revisions concerned tasks associated with strengthening the political-organizational unity of basic party elements, preserving their working-class character, strengthening ties with the community in which they operate and activating party members and party organizations in the battle against the political opponent. The reports campaign gave uniformity to the programs of basic party elements based on the Ninth PZPR Congress resolution and showed the need to act toward strengthening the ideological unity of the voivodship party organization. This refers especially to those plants and communities where there was a tendency toward illegal actions.

Report meetings emphasized the progress that had been made in the manner in which recommendations and demands were treated: however, the manner of implementation of recommendations made at party meetings and addressed to the economic and state administration was still viewed critically. The campaign showed that smaller party organizations cannot always exact from plant administrations the implementation of just recommendations and demands voiced in the name of the workforce. At many meetings, the question was also raised of the lack of consistency of echelons and POP's in the implementation of the recommendations that motions they have adopted. This lack of consistency is seen as one of the important causes of the still lacking effectiveness of party work.

A political assessment made in POP's showed that there is a perceptible improvement in atmosphere among workforces that is primarily the result of the stabilization of the general political situation in Poland. The need to continue the process of locally purging party ranks from passive and ideologically opposed individuals was stressed. At the same time the concern was expressed that these actions be used to strengthen the party.

The need to speed up the work of the CC Commission for assessing the causes of crises in our country was also stressed, as was the more frequent and more extensive distribution of information concerning the work of the State Tribunal and the Constitutional Tribunal.

In most party organizations, a negative attitude was expressed toward the hostile actions of our political opponents. Street riots and other attempts to evoke unrest that disrupt the normal rhythm of work and causes increased social tension were roundly censured.

Against this background, participants presented views of the need to build a strong and decisive party in the struggle with our political opponents.

In many organizations the need was emphasized to ensure the influence of the POP on the community in which it operates. This requires an improvement in the working style of party echelons, primarily in the area of maintaining close contacts, especially with the workers' community, transmitting to workforces current political information and increasing the offensive action of all members, political and administrative authorities upon the workforce.

The demand was voiced for the more frequent organizing of open party meetings, at which an exchange of views with nonparty members could lead to further solutions creating national understanding, whose foundation should be the plant and the field of operation of the given POP.

During the reports campaign, much attention was given to the role of the party aktiv in POP life. This aktiv was rebuilt under martial law. It has been tested under the most complex conditions of political struggle. It was responsible for the regaining by many party organizations of their ability to operate efficiently. Some party members, however, continue to be passive and refuse to become involved in the settlement of vital POP and party problems.

Many POP's, particularly in organizations with few members, base their activity upon too small an aktiv made up only of the secretaries and members of the executive board.

Economic issues dominated discussion at group and POP meetings. Problems of implementing economic reform were treated extensively. The insufficient involvement of the leadership cadre and middle management in this are was criticized, as was the insufficient knowledge of reform principles on the part of the workforce. It was suggested that a permanent system of training the cadre and the workforce about the economic reform be set up which would take into consideration the reality of the specific plant.

It was pointed out that incentives system introduced in plants are often inconsistent and are weakly tied in with the increase in productivity and quality of the work that has been done. Many critical remarks were made about coproduction, raw and other materials supply and policies of price structure and price setting by plants for their own products. Recommendations were made concerning increasing the role of party organizations in solving production and work organization problems. The question was raised of the effectiveness of methods for overcoming economic difficulties; there was discussion of how to achieve better production results under present conditions.

Problems of employment policy, assessments of leadership cadres, workers' attitudes, interpersonal relations, work discipline and sick-leave were discussed extensively. Conditions of bhp /industrial safety and hygiene/, work shoes and clothing supply, and supplying employees with personal hygiene aids were criticized. Issues of increased living costs, market supply, prices and the operation of trade and services were discussed universally.

The operation of the "black market" and the unjust accumulation of wealth were severely criticized. The discussion showed that there is still the prevalent opinion that the costs of our extricating ourselves from the crisis are not distributed equally among all social groups. The weaknesses of the tax system regarding the unsocialized sector and the ineffectiveness of the battle with speculation were criticized in this context.

Relatively little attention at reports meetings was given to trade unions. When this subject was brought up, support was expressed for creating new unions and for the accepted form of resolving the union problem.

The need was stressed for stepping up the reactivation of employee self-governments. A weakness of the discussion of both of these questions was the lack of specification of concrete tasks for party members in order to ensure political influence upon their activity.

Nor were tasks specified for POP's and PZPR members in their work with young people. Instead, the inconsistent influence of youth organizations upon the younger generation was criticized, with emphasis being placed on the fact that most of them function via small groups of the aktiv.

The course of reports meetings in rural areas demonstrated the need to stabilize farm policy. Inadequate preferences for an increase in production that do not satisfy price ratios were criticized. Universal discontent is caused by continuing shortages in the means of farm production (rubber boots, work clothes, machinery and fertilizers) as well as irregularities in the operation of the institutions that serve agriculture and elements of the local administration.

The issues of the operation of the party and its elements occupied somewhat less of the discussion than economic issues and issues of living conditions. However, much attention was given to these questions at reports meetings. The problem of the party's regaining society's trust, and particularly the trust of the working class, was widely discussed. It was stressed that the PZPR must be the party of the struggle for working class interests and issues. This is of decisive importance for the party's future.

The need was discussed for further raising the level of party discipline and for uniformly observing the principles of the law. The view was expressed that sometimes statutes are treated selectively. Too often, emphasis is placed upon powers to the neglect of duties, our joint responsibility for implementing the party line.

The lack of perseverance in party ideological-political activity in 1980 and 1981 was criticized for the failure to conduct party training in POP's. This led to great remissness in ideological activity in the voivodship party organization. The First Ideological Voivodship Conference was dedicated to these problems. The achievements of this conference, which was held in September, are noted in this address. The raising of the issue of ideological training attests to the clear increase in interest by party members in the following issues: theories and practice of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological and organizational sources of the PZPR, the ideological and political struggle being waged in the modern world and its impact upon the Polish situation.

Comrades!

The progress and atmosphere of the reports campaign in basic party elements confirms the fact that there has been a gradual stabilization of political moods among party members themselves. This situation leads us to hope that we shall set out to resolve the tasks that confront us and that we shall resolve them effectively.

The lifting of martial law has brought about radical changes in the legal-political system. We shall have to direct many fields of life and work without the use of the provisions of the martial law decree. The direct assistance afforded local authorities and plant management by defense committees, commissioners and local and municipal operational groups, all of whom deserve recognition for their work in the past, will be limited. The easing of regulations concerning public life may be taken advantage of for activating antisocialist activity.

Taking into consideration the anticipated changes in the situation, we ought to begin preparing echelons, and above all party organizations to expand effective political control within their own areas that would ensure the efficient operation of the economy and the entire make-up of postmartial law existence.

In setting up tasks for basic echelons, the OOP, the POP, the party aktiv and party members, we must take under consideration the recommendations arising out of the party's experience gained from the August 1980 conflict, from the period of severe political struggle in 1981, the successes achieved during this struggle and the defeats suffered by the party. The party's activities after 13 December 1981 have afforded much experience.

Comrades!

Our methods and political measures must ensure social calm, the normal rhythm of plant work and gradual progress in isolating our political opponent. The effectiveness of OOP/POP work will be determined largely by the cohesiveness of our ranks and their discipline in action. While preserving the line of persuasion in order to win over the party's every member, and workers and peasants in particular, to active party work, at the same time we must be express about raising the requirements of all members, in particular the party apparatus and aktiv, members of party authorities and party members in leadership positions. Those who blatantly refuse to discharge their party and work duties, systematically fail to execute party orders, consciously inspire that violates the ideological and organizational unity of the party and tolerate socially pathological phenomena must be punished with severe legal and official sanctions.

A basic issue in the effective operation of the party is the place and the role of the POP in its community or place of work. The reports campaign showed that there are still many imperfections in the work of the POP. The tasks that we shall undertake at all levels of party work in the voivodship should help to eliminate these imperfections.

A basic task is the good organization of the work of the executive board, the POP and every party member. The organizing of a joint effort of comrades working together is important for the party because we do not want our program to be more than merely written out on paper, as was frequently stressed during the discussions. They must become reality. In order to organize such activities we must be very have a good understanding of interpersonal relations in the community, of the political views and attitudes of our colleagues and of social and economic problems. We cannot avoid difficult subjects, or even sensitive ones. At the same time, we must have a thorough knowledge of party documents, which contain the guidelines of our work. The sumtotal of this knowledge is the basis of good work in the party organization.

Another, equally important task is the skillfull application of the statutory duty to assign party orders. On this issue we have often become used to the established patterns, which have led to inconsistency in justification of actions. Today, in our new situation, we must view this in a different way, as

prescribed by the political situation. If we as the party are accountable for the future of the trade union movement, this means that each of us has his own related task. Not only must he feel responsible for performing his task, he must also make an accounting before the forum of his organization of how he implements this task daily among his coworkers.

We must treat the issue of the creation, reactivation and operation of employee self-governments in the same manner. Every party organization should feel responsible for the creation of conditions fostering the strengthening of the authority of the employee self-government among the workforce. This goal can be attained only when all party members elected to the self-government take active part in it.

This is an individual task of party members and a collective duty of POP. The party organization has the right and duty to express its opinions on economic issues to the self-government, but we must keep in mind that this ought to be an opinion argued out of the proper recognition of workforce needs. Preparing such an opinion will take a great deal of effort. We must learn to evaluate every decision made in an enterprise not only from the viewpoint of its benefit to the workforce, but likewise from the point of view of the interest of society in general. We have gained experience from the work of the commissions for establishing prices and costs, which attempted the coalescence of workforce and societal interests. The more efficient operation of these commissions requires dispensing with the traditional approach that likewise is used in the POP and is expressed by the maxim "Charity begins at home," even when another comrade or colleague from another plant would have to pay four times as much.

The reports campaign showed a weakening and even disappearance of work in party groups in some milieus, including the workingclass community, a disturbing truth. The combined number of groups operating within the voivodship organization declined radically. This is a very dangerous phenomenon for the workers' party. It is through these groups that the principle of maintaining the ties of party members with each other within the smallest group, as well as with their colleagues in the shop, is implemented. This situation forces us to take enterprising steps to rebuild party groups. In every employee's group, master group, and brigade where there are party members, the activity of the group should be set in motion or reactivated. This is a task for the OOP, the POP, plant committees, and echelons. This task should bind the entire party aktiv to intense work from the very beginning. We must perfect and correct forms of work with party groups at the level of echelons and the Voivodship Committee, joining them into a system of intraparty information dissemination and propaganda work. We must continue to work with the workers' aktiv and the rural and youth aktivs.

Party groups directly implementing activity at their work stations ought to be concerned over working conditions, bhp conditions, the just distribution of wages and the individual fate of coworkers, creating in this way the proper atmosphere in the particular environment the premises of the resurgence of the party's authority among society. They should also bring sympathizers into the party, as well as possible candidates.

Comrades!

We are all aware that it is still particularly difficult today to be a party member. Each one of us individually bears the burden of the problems of everyday life, takes part in breaking down barriers, in implementing changes initiated by the party and in the regeneration of our mutual fate, the fate of our homeland. Along this path we sometimes still encounter barriers of distrust, slander and even harrassment. We will pass this test with dignity, fulfilling our duties in many different areas with persistence. We draw this strength primarily from the achievement of 38 years of People's Poland, from the progress made in spite of difficulty in normalizing life and ensuring social calm.

For this stubbornness, perseverance and everyday difficult work, the KW Executive Board expresses words of recognition and thanks to party members, groups, OOP/POP secretaries and the entire aktiv.

Comrades!

The problems of POP party work likewise demand broader theoretical study of the changes occurring in the operation of the party and the state. Economic reforms, the status of self-government and trade unions are creating new social conditions. Many party organizations are trying to determine their role under these new conditions. Thus, there is a need to study this problem both in the sphere of empirical social research and in the theoretical sphere. We are making use of an opportunity provided by a written agreement with WSNS /Higher School of Social Sciences/ that projects a joint study of the role and tasks of POP's under the reformed socioeconomic system. This is an extremely important question for the development of such new kinds of sociopolitical phenomena, processes and institutions as: trade unions, employee and territorial self-governments and PRCN.

These three areas of the social sphere of existence in our country are playing a significant role in activating society. Their standing and importance increase daily. The individual activism of party members in these elements of the socialist democracy must provide the guaratee that the content of party policy and its implementation will be transmitted to broad circles of society.

Trade unions, free of the pre-August 1980 and pre-December 1981 deformation, and in compliance with a social contract, play an important role in the political system. They are self-governing, independent and structured on a class, worker foundation.

A current task for party members is the active supporting of organizational, substantive undertakings of the new union structures and acting to increase their ranks. The POP must listen attentively to the voice of union members. It is obliged to support valid initiatives of the union movement in its everyday work.

The idea of PRON is a political activity directed toward the broadest circles of society and employee workforces. The POP should become the initiator of

meetings of the representatives of socio-vocational, scientific-technical, self-governing, youth, cultural and sports organizations. The purpose of these meetings should be to create structures and planes for preparing the bases of the integration of society, workforces and the community. The creation of the PRON structures is a task for the party members that are active in these organizations. We should cooperate more effectively with the ZSL /United Peasant Party/ and the SD /Democratic Party/ in the PRON structures, both at the level of basic organizations and in individual contacts.

We must bring the younger generation into the process of integrating society, moving from program declarations to concrete actions in the community, the plant and the institution. The tasks obtained in the operating schedule for implementing the provisions of the KW plenum and the Ninth CC Plenum are outlined in this manner. The CC Youth Commission, which held its meeting in our voivodship at the beginning of December in order to become more familiar with the problems of the Gdansk region, confirmed the need for such activities.

We must strengthen socialist youth unions, taking into consideration their activities in the various milieus--the workers' milieu, the rural community, and the school and student communities.

POP's in schools must work intensively to create conditions among the teaching cadre and school administrators fostering the activity of the ZSP /Polish Student Association/ and the creation of conditions for setting up ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/ and ZMW /Rural Youth Union/ circles, as well as instructors' groups of scouts among students.

In elementary schools, party organizations should create better conditions for the work of the ZHP /Polish Scout Union/. In secondary schools, they should improve circumstances for expanding the role of young people in ZSMP and ZMW work, thereby preparing youth for their civic functions when they have completed their schooling.

In plants and institutions, the POP should take up and resolve the problems of the young worker, the technician, the engineer and the researcher and all employees as their partners, in a consistent, constant manner.

It is very important that we all make use of marine traditions in teaching the younger generation. We must develop attitudes of patriotism, respect for the work of the dockworkers, sailors and fishermen. We must use these values to develop responsibility and discipline.

Comrades!

The progress of the reports campaign shows that our Gdansk voivodship party organization is more and more effectively surmounting difficulties within the party itself, strengthening the ideological and organizational cohesiveness based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Its impact upon economic reform and upon the resolution of socioeconomic problems of the voivodship is growing. This is leading to the moderating of the consequences of the crisis and the overcoming of everyday problems that we all encounter. It is the result of the sacrifical, patriotic attitude of working people, the improved efficiency of the authorities and the civic responsibility of society.

Yesterday was the day of our salvation!

Our concern today is to act in the name of renewal and to think about tomorrow's development!

New Party Secretary Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska

Gdansk WIECZOR WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

/Text/ Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska was born on 28 September 1945 in Wilno in a workingclass family. She has made her home on the Coast since 1946, studying and working here since that time. She is a graduate of the Technical School of the Food Industry in Gdansk and began her career in the Gran Plants here, first as a research assistant, next as an economic administrator, senior commodities specialist and senior inspector. In 1971, she began working in the school system as a contractual teacher of the Polish language.

While she was working, she attended night school, in that same academic year completing studies at Gdansk University for her master's degree in Polish philology. At this same institution she also complete postgraduate studies in the political science program in 1976. Since 1968 she has been a member of the PZPR.

As a model employee, an activist of the youth organization and a party and union activist, since 1 April 1973 she has been involved in full-time party work. She has held the position of Gdansk-Center City PZPR KD /District, Committee/ instructor and director of the District Center for Party Work. Since 10 January 1975 she has been working in the PZPR KW Organizational Department in Gdansk. In 1976, she began doctoral studies in the PZPR CC WSNS, which she completed in 1979. Upon her return to Gdansk, working as deputy director of the KW Organizational Department, she has run the consultation office of WSNS in Gdansk, upon the WSNS rector's recommendation, and has been in charge of the Voivodship Party School.

Since January 1982, she has directed the Center of Information, Analyses and Programing of Party Work for the PZPR KW.

Joanna Michalowska-Gemowska is a delegate to the Gdansk-Center City district conference.

Executive Board on Cultural Needs

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 30 Dec 82 p 2

/Article by (J)/

/Text/ At yesterday's /29 December 1982/ meeting, the PZPR KW Executive Board in Gdansk examined the state of culture in the Gdansk rural areas and the need for cultural dissemination there. Extensive reports, carefully prepared by the Department of Culture of the Voivodship Office and the KW Cultural Commission give an accounting of the local base and the cadre of rural cultural centers and demonstrate the most pressing needs of gmina centers of culture, rural libraries and clubs in this area. These centers should be enabled to conduct and expand their work, enriching it with as wide a variety of form and content as possible, seriously considering the rural need for good entertainment, books, films and substantive meetings with actors, cultural workers, politicians and authors. At the same time, an extremely important factor in the dissemination and development of culture in rural areas is the substantive help for GOK /Gdansk Cultural Center/ and for amateur artistic ensembles, which in many gminas directly involve hundreds of inhabitants in amateur work in various types of stage ensembles.

The motions adopted yesterday by the KW Executive Board aim in this direction. They are addressed not only to professional voivodship centers that disseminate culture and to youth organizations, whose role in rural cultural life has always been very significant. The rural dissemination of culture also depends in large part on gmina authorities: gmina people's councils, gmina party committees and their leaders--upon their understanding of the need for the help--material help to improve local conditions and strengthen the cadre--of particular centers operating within every gmina.

Meeting of Party Secretaries

Gdansk WIECZOR WYBRZEZA in Polish 31 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

/Article prepared by mek/

/Text/ The traditional new year's meeting of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee was held yesterday /30 December 1982/, upon the threshold of the new year.

It was attended by KW secretaries, members of the PZPR CC from the Gdansk voivodship, representatives of the leadership of political parties, representatives of the voivodship political-economic aktiv, representatives of the local administration, veterans of the workers' movement, representatives of the scientific, cultural, youth and military communities, citizen's militia representatives and representatives of other social circles.

PZPR KW secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski warmly welcomed those in attendance. In the name of voivodship party authorities, the KW Executive Board and PZPR KW first secretary Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo, who was out of the voivodship, the chairman of yesterday's meeting thanked them for their sacrifices and their difficult social and professional work in 1982 that has yielded the anticipate results, and he wished them a happy new year. M. Chabowski expressed the conviction that if all work together under the party's direction, 1983 will certainly be a better year than 1982, although it will not be an easy year.

Next chairman of the PRON Provisional Voivodship Council, z w /military police/ captain Walenty Milenuszkin took the floor. He thanked party authorities and political parties for the support demonstrated to the national rebirth movement and offered his sincere wishes for the new year.

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Yesterday /30 December 1982/ the secretaries of the PZPR KW in Gdansk met with the party aktiv of cities, districts and factories on the occasion of the new year.

Secretary Michal Chabowski met with the city aktiv in Gdynia and also visited the Paris Commune Shipyard. WRN /Voivodship People's Council/ chairman docent doctor Lech Bednarski also took part in this meeting.

KW secretary Edward Kijek took part in the meeting with party activists from the Wrzeszcz district. KW secretary Mieczyslaw Stefanski participated in a similar meeting in Sopot.

KW secretary Andrzej Karnabal met with the party aktiv of the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops. Secretary Leon Brancewicz participated in a meeting with the party organization of the Gdansk Repair Shipyard.

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PZPR KW secretary Edward Kijek participated in a new year's meeting of employees of the WIECZOR WYBRZEZA editorial staff. He thanked the members of our editorial staff for their work during the past year and wished them professional success and personal happiness in the New Year.

8536
CSO: 2600/264

KATOWICE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Assessment of Public Law, Order

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 24-26 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by AM]

[Text] The efficiency of work and society's appraisal of its results is a requisite in achieving adopted ideas and solving socioeconomic problems. There are no minor matters in this sphere, especially if they are connected with the living conditions of residents of a region. Working from this assumption, the Executive of the PZPR [KW PZPR] in Katowice, during the Thursday session--the 23rd of this month--evaluated the course of work in the forest economy in Katowice Province. Member of the Political Bureau and first secretary of the KW PZPR, comrade professor Zbigniew Messner presided over the proceedings. Comrade Jerzy Romanik, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR and miner at the Siemianowice coal mine, was present.

In the discussion of the information presented by the District Administration of State Forests [OZLP] in Katowice, the members of the Executive concentrated on the problems concerning the fulfillment of forest economy tasks resulting from the decision, made by the cabinet, by which all forest regions of the province were incorporated into the protective belt of the Upper-Silesian Industrial Region [GOP]. This determines the use of the forest regions so that they would not serve only production but, above all, climatic, health, social, landscaping functions and the like. The essential question is their conservation and, at least the fact that barely 4 acres of forest land falls to every resident in the province, while the national average amounts to 24 acres, attests to the manner of utilization.

The entire forest region is located in an area of harmful industrial influence, especially perilous to conifers. The favorably-rated rebuilding of standing timber for deciduous trees, at an area of 34,000 hectares, as well as a substantial reduction in the gain of timber which allowed the forest economy to be straightened out, has affected positively the healthy state of the forests. An urgent solution, however, is demanded for the problem of land reclamation, since unregulated water conditions for an acreage of about 25,000 hectares gives rise to, among other things, difficulties in the carrying out of forestation. It is stressed that these questions should be solved

in collaboration with agriculture. The Executive was equally critical of the extent of running the forests for tourist needs and their adaptation for recreational-resort functions, advising ties of more cohesive cooperation between the OZLP and the headquarters of the Jurassic Landscape Park. It committed party channels, which have the forest inspectorate within their sphere, to a greater concern governed not by the economy, but by workers' social conditions and by the work of basic party organizations in this area. It resolved to commit councillors of the People's Provincial Council [WRN]--party members are to take up in the WRN forum an assessment of the utilization trends of the forest regions in the province.

The Executive of the KW PZPR likewise evaluated the success of the program to stabilize social discipline as well as order and public safety in the Katowice Province in 1982. It ascertained that the noticeable effects in this area are the result of the committed activities of organs and institutions responsible for the state of security and order, as well as an expression of the understanding of these matters and the responsibility on the part of the public in this region.

Accepted Ideological-Propaganda Directives

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Jan 83 p 1, 6

[Article by IL]

[Text] The political policy of the PZPR adopted at the 9th extraordinary session, formed in consecutive plenary meetings of the Central Committee, sets the main directives and goals that the party organization of the province will undertake in its ideological-propaganda work in 1983.

The problems associated with these directives and goals were discussed at the meeting of the Executive of the KW PZPR held 6 January in Katowice.

The Executive recommended that the ideological-propaganda section concentrate on eliminating the effects of errors made in this work in past years, and also on the expulsion of opinions and attitudes foreign to socialism, but formed under the influence of propaganda against the classes. The restoration and growth of party aggressiveness on the ideological front, the activation and increase of good propaganda results ought to serve the rise of consciousness equally in party as well as nonparty members.

Essential directives on the ideological front were defined. The dissemination of marxist-leninist methodology, and its use as an instrument for social investigation should serve as the qualifier for current and perspective interests of the working classes. Through the rise of politically legitimate consciousness in the citizen, the party will work on the matter of restoring and strengthening the authority of the socialist state, respect for its principles and legitimate constitutional laws.

Much work will be required for raising historical consciousness with respect to events in our country as well as other nations and, through this raising of consciousness, a deepending of internationalism, which has been attacked

unrelentingly in the most recent years by antisocialist propaganda. Having strengthened friendly relations and unions with socialist countries, and especially with the USSR, it was noted that a unity of class interests for workers in our countries ought to be presented.

The promulgation of a scientific outlook on life, the propagation of laws dividing the Church from the state, freedom of conscience and religion, and also the dissemination of customs and rites are of great importance to the current situation. The filling out of ethical principles, functioning in society, with wordly concerns and attentiveness to a consistence between practice and socialist principles will be a complement to this process. Modifications in the system of economic management as well as the changes in economic policy demand ideological and propaganda aid. Action on the matter of strengthening the ideological unity of the provincial party organizations must, according to needs, continue cleansing the party of people who stand against its program, marxist-leninist principles, and break the statutes and principles of democratic centralism. The preservation of high ideological-moral requirements with respect to those newly entering the PZPR is essential.

The Executive adopted main directives for ideological activities by the provincial party organizations in 1983, worked out through broad consultation with those active in ideology work and through a large input of work, it accompanies the Commission on Ideology, Propaganda and Information of the KW PZPR. Lengthy tasks will be worked out on the strength of the adopted document.

A report on the meeting of the Plenary Assembly of the KW PZPR, which will evaluate the level of achievement of the Resolutions of the 9th Plenary Assembly of the KW PZPR on the tasks of activities with the youth in Katowice Province, was noted at the session.

Member of the Political Bureau of the CC PZPR and miner at the Siemianowice coal mine Comrade Jerzy Tomanik took part in the proceedings.

9891
CSO: 2600/268

LUBLIN PZPR FIRST SECRETARY SKRZYDLO INTERVIEWED

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 3, 16 Jan 83 p 12

/Interview with Wieslaw Skrzydlo, law professor and first secretary of the Lublin Voivodship Committee of the PZPR; date, place and interviewer not indicated/

/Text/ /Question/ You are a scholar, and as such for many years have studied the mechanisms of the state, particularly the functioning of socialist democracy, and at the same time you are a political practioner, a party activist. Thus we feel justified in asking the question: What, in your opinion, was the most essential defect in the previous system of exercising power?

/Answer/ In my opinion, it was the lack of institutional guarantees to prevent the degeneration of democratic institutions. Allow me to refer to Poland's recent history: since 1948 we have gone through many conflicts and political crises, and after each of them one question constantly returned: What must we do to prevent these crises from being repeated? The answer was reduced to a declaration that collective leadership, rebuilding intraparty democracy and democracy in the state were such guarantees.

This was pure voluntarism, since in essence it meant that the guarantee was the given political team, the personality of the leader. On the other hand, there was no thought of creating institutional guarantees.

I am aware that we have started on the road to creating institutions which would guarantee necessary changes and prevent a return to the old methods of exercising power of only two years ago.

/Question/ What are these institutions?

/Answer/ For example, the State Tribunal. I do not overestimate its importance, but I am also far from neglecting it. Now the very awareness that I can be called to conditional, political responsibility, is important. For example, the Constitutional Tribunal. For example, strike legislation. The new law on people's councils must also contain guarantee mechanisms. I have not listed all the guarantees, only certain examples.

In my reflections on this subject, I will give the following example: the driver of a car, wanting to ride safely and avoid collisions, must not only observe the road, but also the dashboard, which signals whether everything is working properly. Well, our political system until 1980 did not have these kinds of signals, and even if it was not totally devoid of them, the driver, as if deliberately, covered up the dashboard and said, "I have a great car; it never breaks down on me, since it never signals any danger."

In March 1980, elections to the Sejm and the voivodship people's councils took place. These elections, in frequency and in the number of votes cast for the National Unity Front, did not signal anything bad, in comparison, for example, with 1969. We racked up that 98 percent and drew virtually no conclusions from it. So why, in March 1980, did we receive no signal that the "danger" signal-light was burning, and four months later Swidnik shuts down and the strike encompasses every factory in Lublin?

What happened? Well, that dashboard was covered up, and it was said that the car was great. Drawing conclusions from the sad experience of the past should depend on an efficient system for signaling danger, the build up of pressure, controversy. The point is to be able to intervene before an explosion occurs.

Not only the new institutions which I have just mentioned have created a system of guarantees. Very many institutions in the political system should be changed.

/Question/ Professor, does the idea of a coalition, announced after August, remain, in your opinion, just a slogan, or is it already political practice?

/Answer/ This question requires a precise approach. For the concept of coalition exists on the basis of capitalist political systems. I think that in our system it has a different meaning.

A coalition in the West European countries, for example, is an expression of compromise, since it often involves agreements between parties with diametrically opposed political orientations. Mutual, and often far-reaching concessions must be made on both sides for the coalition to be able to last. But in our country, the concept of a coalition should be interpreted as an understanding which is not the result of bargaining and fragile compromises which leave both sides dissatisfied. Now that, in a society building socialism, we see the political reasons behind the actions of members of other parties, as well as of nonparty members and people with different ideologies, we must create a forum for progressive social movements to share in the government; this includes movements which express the interests of lay Catholics, which is especially important in our country.

An interpretation of such a situation was for years the, to be sure, insufficient representation of lay Catholic organizations in the form of Catholic circles in the Sejm, and at present a manifestation of that view is the search for a forum for sharing in the direct process of government. Finally, I think that the last word has not been said in this matter; other formulae for lay Catholics to share in the government are being sought. I will say, for

example, that it would be good if the office of chairman of one of the commissions of the voivodship people's councils in Lublin were to be given to a council member and member of the PAX society. The office of chairman of the Provisional Voivodship Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth was instead filled by another Catholic activist--deputy Stanislaw Rostworowski. Thus, this is an attempt to search out many forums in which prosocialist forces, tied to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, could bring their share of concepts and potential for activity into sociopolitical life.

/Question/ That is a lot compared to what was. But do you anticipate that this could also be the beginning of a process of ideological neutralization of the state due to the differentiation of society along sectarian lines? The thesis of the ideological neutrality of the state remains controversial...

/Answer/ This is, as I see it, a thesis which requires discussion. I do not know if it does not conflict or if it can be brought into agreement with the principle of the separation of church and state. I am aware that during the last two years there have appeared tendencies which are understood by some as an expansion of the pluralistic character of society into the area of politics, but by others as being able to be interpreted as undermining the basis of the separation of church and state. For if religious emblems appear in many workplaces, in factories, and above all in schools, in offices representing the state, one could ask whether this is compatible with the secular character of the school and of the state. I do not think it is. I do not imagine, for example, as was possible in France... The situation is very delicate: when religious symbols disappeared from the schools, certain people eagerly began to accuse the authorities of declaring war on the Church. But that is not how the matter appears.

/Question/ We consider that the school should neither atheize nor catechize.

/Answer/ Do you mean that the school propagates an atheist point of view? Are you also talking about the school's freedom to voice in school the thesis, for example, in the natural sciences, which contradict the doctrine of the Catholic Church?

/Question/ The teacher, in reporting these questions, should not put forward ideological conclusions.

/Answer/ Let me recall Lenin's thesis that the division of people into believers and unbelievers will affect life in the hereafter, but that in building the conditions of this life such a division should not hinder social development, that, as Lenin put it, socialism can be built not only by communists, that social organizations have a form independent of ideology. If we speak of propagating the atheist world view, this is a task of the Marxist-Leninist party, in which, let us make no mistake, there is a good percentage of Catholics, especially from the peasants and workers. Neither the ZSL nor the SD have the same attitude on this issue.

/Question/ Lenin's thesis that ideological disputes affect matters in the hereafter is so vague that many conclusions for social practice arise from ideology, such as the theology of work, Catholic morality, which often becomes a source of social attitudes...

/Answer/ Polish society is very characteristic ideologically, and also finds inspiration, but this is only one of many inspirations, for social activity in the teachings of the Church. It would be a mistake for Polish society to reject Catholicism, and that rejection would be fraught with consequences. If certain currents of the "Solidarity" movement were used, among other things, by playing on religious feelings, then susceptibility to such manipulation had its definite causes.

But I would like to point out that the activity of organizations which propagate atheistic ideology is authorized. If the Church is to have the freedom to propagate its ideology through its organizations, through its press, then it would be unfair if the other side were deprived of this same right. This is a question of political culture.

/Question/ Isn't it your impression that the Church in Poland is compelled to play a political role?

/Answer/ I think that the Church formerly had to enter the political arena. When Cardinal Wyszynski gave a sermon on 26 August 1980 full of political accents, he was throwing his personal authority onto the scales. If some sort of Catholic political party existed in Poland, it would not overstep the moral authority of the Primacy. When that authority was lacking in 1981, that lack was powerfully felt, also in the area of politics.

/Question/ We would now like to return to the question of pluralism and coalitions. The agreement, which in your opinion is the essence of a coalition in the socialist state, cannot affect everything; how then will the sovereignty and identity of the coalition partners be built? So that the members of a coalition should not have to abandon their own identity, nor unify their view. How, in other words, does one preserve the political subjectivity of its participants?

/Answer/ In coalitions the least essential question is that of ideology. But you are asking a limited, and basic question: where do you draw the line between seeking an agreement and the impossibility of finding one? I believe that there are certain systemic bases, the recognition of which makes an agreement possible. If political forces recognize these bases (they are universally known and really have to do with principles), then further agreement is easy. Now it is unimportant whether the minister of agriculture is a Catholic or a communist, or whether he represents a political tendency which fits in with these principles.

/Question/ Do you agree with the view that ideological division is not synonymous with political division?

/Answer/ Of course. It is also not synonymous with class division. But the matter of faith remains secondary to the basic common class or group interests...

/Question/ How would you comment on the part of the declaration of the signatories of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, in which it says that no one has a monopoly on patriotism?

/Answer/ How can anyone say that patriotism is an exclusive feature of PZPR members, which would suggest that nonparty members, or members of other political parties are not patriots? It cannot be said that patriotism is monopolized by those forces behind the PMNR. It would be madness to question the patriotism of the Catholic Church. I am reminded once more, in this context, of Cardinal Wyszynski, who always realized that there exists a Polish reason of state, that the interests of the nation which he serves as a dignitary of the Church are eternal...

/Question/ Professor Skrzydlo, have you had to review certain of your ideas about the theory of the state since you became first secretary of the Voivodship Committee?

/Answer/ No, I have not had to revise my scientific views since I have become a political practitioner. It was rather a question of considering how to check the accuracy of my ideas. I must say here that I was not a newcomer to politics, since for 12 years I had been a member of the executive of the Voivodship Committee, thanks to which I knew the sociopolitical problems of the voivodship. But this does not mean that I knew them well. However, in 1981 it turned out that not many people could flatter themselves that they were really well-acquainted with these problems.

When I became first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, I had to put into practice the principle contained in the slogan, "The Party directs, the government governs", and establish a proper relationship between myself and the governor, who was a representative of the ZSL. So at the outset I clearly told the governor that I had no intention of giving instructions against the law or of disregarding its provisions. Each of us has quite a lot to do in his share of activities, and I have no intention of ordering about or replacing the administration. Of course, such a relationship raises new problems. For example, conclusions and opinions do not always flow through administrative channels and party channels, they are not always sufficiently harmonized and coordinated. But this is a question of producing a working practice, and not criticism of the politcal principle itself, which is absolutely correct.

/Question/ It follows from what you have said that a unanimity is formed between the party and the administration. Does it have to be thus?

/Answer/ It does not have to be. We are not bound by the erroneous thesis of unanimity in all matters. I do not intend to impose my position on the governor, if it might be controversial. I also take under consideration proposals from the other side, and if I am convinced that they are right, I will willingly accept them, but if not--I will strive to convince the governor of this. Convince, not impose.

/Question/ What guarantees are there that such a style of exercising the leading role of the PZPR will become widespread?

/Answer/ There are no institutional guarantees, but there is a political guarantee: this is the new sociopolitical situation, which does not allow the existence of only the party channel of raising and making decisions.

/Question/ Do you assume that everyone understands this?

/Answer/ As the French say, "Ministers come and go, functionaries remain." I think that it is possible to form a certain style of governing and to consolidate it in the attitudes of the so-called apparatus, if it proves to be effective and efficient.

/Question/ The experience of People's Poland teaches us that every attempt at reform meets the greatest resistance in the so-called field. So the problem perhaps lies not at the national or voivodship levels of power and administration, but in the gminy and towns...

/Answer/ Of course, a change in style of government is a gradual process, and at present is rather difficult; essentially reality at the level of state authority and at the gmina level differ considerably. But it should also be kept in mind that the party apparatus is, to a great extent, ceasing to be a professional apparatus, and thus the danger of routine, of bureaucratization, of alienation, of losing contact with society, is decreasing. The fact that over 60 percent of party activists are new people, with recent links to the workplace, should in itself considerably speed up the process of changing the style of party activity.

/Question/ Professor, we would like to turn from general political problems to discuss regional problems. You are, after all, a political leader in an economically and culturally important region. You are active in a city where the Catholic University of Lublin has existed for over 60 years, along with the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, of which you were the president for many years. What concrete things result from this?

/Answer/ It happened that for a certain period the profile of the Catholic University was restricted, after the liquidation of the department of law and economics and the limitation of the humanities department, though even then it was a brilliant center of humanistic and social thought. Even as a high school student I attended lectures at the Catholic University given by professors Juliusz Kleiner, Jan Parandowski, and Czekanowski. The contribution of the Catholic University to Polish culture remains tremendous. When hard times came for the Catholic University, these were bad times for the world of science and culture in general. For the Catholic University is too important a center for a detriment to its assets and possibilities not to be reflected at least in the region. The Marie Curie-Sklodowska University instituted similar programs in the humanities, but unfortunately, which is an obvious loss, we have not come to a broader integration of the centers of humanistic thought in these two universities.

I must say that I was in close contact with the community of the Catholic University, not just because good-neighborly relations between the two universities required it. I was anxious to start joint initiatives, especially in the areas of Polish studies, history and philology. As I said, however, there were too few such initiatives, and the arena of scientific discussion was too small. Intellectual ferment is very good for the development of science; its natural leaven should be proximity of location and the difference

in character of the two centers. That that did not happen is probably the fault of both sides, though other, external events also did not facilitate matters.

As president of the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, I always valued official contacts with the president of the Catholic University, Father Professor Krapiec. These contacts usually had to do with Polonia, but also with scholarship.

I have had no reason not to pay a visit to the Catholic University as First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR as well. The leaders of the Catholic University have returned my visits, and I welcomed them to the Voivodship Committee headquarters. I also know that my predecessors highly valued the rank and importance of the Catholic University, and the realism of the university leaders. I consider that the party, and especially its functionaries, must be open to the problems of the community in which they have been active.

/Question/ Continuing the "regional" train of our conversation, we would like to know your opinion on the prospects of raising the standard of living in the Lublin voivodship. We are interested in whether this development will be in the direction of industrialization, which will be helped by the coal boom and all its good and bad consequences, or if there will also be action toward preserving the traditional values of the voivodship, which is above all agricultural.

/Answer/ We are proud of Lublin's development. Today Lublin has four times as many inhabitants as in 1944. We are proud of its scientific and cultural development, of the development of industry, etc. At the same time we notice present and possibly future dangers. Lublin has "spread out" over very fertile ground. So that when we have to decide about its further development, we are confronted with a dilemma: to solve, for example, the housing problem, we must take good, high-quality lands. This is linked to the next question, what the optimal limits are to which Lublin should be developed. Maybe satellite cities should be built or developed? I am just sketching a certain particular problem, to illustrate the difficulty of the problems which confront us.

Turning to the region, and particularly to its "coal" part: several mines will be built there before the 1990's, and 25 million tons of coal per year should be extracted. Please consider for a moment the problems connected just with building the social and communal infrastructure, with making Leczna a large urban center. Fortunately, the coal deposits are found on agriculturally poorer land, which creates additional reasons for developing this part of the voivodship.

There is also a prospect of development linked to extracting crude oil, and more broadly, with possibilities of extracting minerals found in eastern Poland. Here, simply to answer your question, in no case should industrial development threaten, to a greater degree than necessary, the environment, and especially the traditional values of the voivodship, i.e. agriculture. I

do not support industrial development at any price. I know that Poland badly needs coal, but I believe it will be necessary to minimize state, local and environmental losses, which usually accompany such development. From a political point of view, the important thing is not to see development in the Lublin area only through the prism of tons of coal, new factories, millions of zlotys, etc. Realizing prospects of development cannot obscure the question of the cost of that development.

/Question/ Professor, we have a question for you as First Secretary: what are the proportions in your day like between solving sociopolitical problems and operational, tactical and incidental programs?

/Answer/ I attach the greatest weight to meeting with people, which I treat as my most important political obligation. We are experiencing a tremendous crisis of authority; great social apathy exists. If the crisis of confidence in authority is a fact, then the role of the party, which wants to play the leading role in society, consists in regaining trustworthiness. I have lived in Lublin since 1945, and now it turns out that I did not know it well, and when I began to establish contacts with the workplace, I saw the voivodship in its proper sociopolitical dimensions for the first time. It has many problems, and it was no accident that that is precisely from where the 1980 workers' protest began. I benefit from such direct meetings in two ways: on the one hand, going to people, I tell them frankly how I understand the role of the first secretary, and what the directions of our activity are, what the party is aiming at. On the other hand, you have no idea how instructive these meetings are for me. I used to teach people, now I learn from them. An acquaintance with life, which is essential for proper political work, cannot be gotten from behind a desk.

I feel best among people in the field. There is no fawning flattery there, no applause, that is all finished. In the field I feel in my element as a political figure.

/Question/ In interviews which you give, you often refer to yourself as a "temporary secretary." Isn't that being coy?

/Answer/ No, it comes from my deepest convictions. My place is at the university. I am at an age when, based on what I have seen, read, thought about, I could formulate certain more general reflections, when I could crown my academic career. But when the position of first secretary of the Voivodship Committee was offered to me, I thought I had to prove myself in action. What good are great theories that burst apart when they come into contact with reality? I thought a year or two in a person's life is not all that much, especially since it dow not have to be time written off as lost; a lot of new ideas are born from work here, previous ideas are verified, others are checked. I think it will be a useful experience for me as a student of the mechanisms of the state and politics. And if I should succeed, with the help of others, in accomplishing something, so much the better. We are living in very interesting times. But I do not hope to become a "professional politician."

/Question/ Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/284

PRESS COVERAGE OF PZPR VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCES CONTINUES

Barcikowski at Zielo[illegible] Gora

AU311839 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 83 p 2

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in Zielona Gora on 26 January]

[Text] Kazimierz Barcikowski made his address toward the end of the discussion. Although the present party situation is better, we must not forget the past or the people who went to all lengths when the nation's destiny was at stake. Martial law averted civil war. The fact that events did not lead to a tragedy in our country is a great credit to us. Today, there is an absolute need for party unity and ideological awareness. We must all know what we are fighting for and what we are capable of, both as a party and as a people. And, being aware of our own potential, we cannot make too many promises. We must say "no" if saying "yes" poses doubts as to whether the promise would be kept. It is also essential that we conduct ourselves unswervingly in relation to actions which clash with the party cause. The work that we all do must likewise meet party requirements. This is related to the party member's ideological and moral attitude.

It is necessary to restore the party's authority among the workers' class and the people, K. Barcikowski stated. This cause is now being furthered by the great ideas the party is promoting. Some of these ideas are the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], trade unions and all forms of workers' self-management bodies. The effectiveness of party activities must be increased. To do this we must have tighter discipline. A new style of party work should be devised.

K. Barcikowski focused much attention on the party's role as a leading force. He also stressed the role of the administration as a factor leading to the stabilization of the nation. It is for this reason that this work should be improved. We should show concern for the strengthening of the administrative worker's position. Our party train, the Central Committee secretary noted, is in motion. It is now time to board it. What is important is that this train takes as many people on board as possible, except political opponents, of course.

Speaking on the economy, K. Barcikowski emphasized that there is, in this respect, a need for much prudence and more effective action. The skill of good management, of matching realities with potential, is essential here. We should rid ourselves of excessive demands, which we can do without, and learn to live more modestly. The Central Committee secretary dwelled considerably on the issue of the quality of production. Raw materials resources are being wasted in a country which is suffering from an enormous shortage of just this. Self-sufficiency is extremely important in economic activity because a self-sufficient person or enterprise is more successful at managing its affairs. Continuing on the economy, K. Barcikowski also spoke of changes occurring in the national income from investment to consumption. He then indicated the need for anti-inflationary measures. The current year will be a decisive one with regard to our overcoming the crisis, he said. The situation will not mend of its own accord, improvement must come as the result of collective efforts. There is no other escape from the crisis aside from good sound work. The economic front is the most important field of activity this year. We cannot shun taking responsibility for the economic results.

Barcikowski at Siedlce

AU171533 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Piotr Rzadca and Jozef Sadowski report on the 14 February PZPR Reports-Program Conference of the Siedlce Voivodship]

[Excerpts] "Let us remember, comrades, that the future of the voivodship is in our hands" were the final words of the opening speech made by Jerzy Swiderski, first secretary of the PZPR Siedlce Voivodship Committee, who wished to stress the great responsibility of the 30,000 party members represented at the reports-program conference by 240 delegates.

Siedlce Voivodship saw strikes flaring up, cases of prolonged occupations of public buildings, refusals to pay taxes and deliberate holdups of supplies of agricultural products. However, political tensions were not as acute here as in other parts of the country. Social stabilization and a calming of the atmosphere could therefore take place more quickly. The fact that the majority of the voivodship's citizens live in rural areas and are opposed to firebrand activities may also have some bearing on this process.

The statements made by the farmers during the ensuing discussion were, as usual, vivid and to the point. Marian Turski from Rogale village spoke of the villagers' daily worries. He asked how it is now possible that a television set and an automatic washing machine have to be considered "luxury" goods because they are so expensive and difficult to buy. Who is it that has so much "inflation money," about which such a great deal is being said nowadays, to spend. He referred to the management in many factories, saying that "if a farmer managed his affairs this way, he would have gone bankrupt long ago." He postulated a reduction in the prices of the means of production for agriculture, stating that bread will cost as much as these means. The insufficient supplies to villages were also discussed by Jan Krakowski,

chairman of the rural commune cooperative and farmer, who said, "We have to travel to other voivodships for machines which are not sent where they are needed due to bad distribution." This subject was continued by Henryk Tchorzewski, another farmer from Miedzno village, who discovered at the local rural commune cooperative that apparently 70 percent of the goods go to the towns and only 30 percent go to the rural areas, while the ratio of the population inhabiting these areas is the opposite. This forces farmers to make unnecessary trips into town.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, presented a positive appraisal of the activities of the voivodship party organizations with regard to the complicated situation existing before and after the imposition of martial law as well as at present.

In discussing the effects of the nearly completed reports-programs campaign in the country, K. Barcikowski stressed that the campaign has been marked by a search for our own positive solutions to the complicated socioeconomic problems. An important feature of the campaign is the rebirth of the party and the restoration of its social trust and credibility. The present party, in comparison to the party of the 1980's [as published], is a better one, it is more coherent and homogeneous.

Our discussions often refer to the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, but these are rarely known to us and they are consulted even less, K. Barcikowski said. The strength of the congress depends on the fact that the entire party created the program and it is this that will safeguard it from defeat.

Referring to the numerous statements about the paralyzing effect of the crisis, K. Barcikowski emphasized that we will be stuck with it as long as we are resigned to it. The tendency to say that the crisis is responsible for all shortcomings is harmful and dangerous, particularly in situations where there is a lack of initiative, and when management is bad and duties are poorly performed. The main battles on the political front have been won and a resolute effort should be made with regard to economic activities. The key issue is to increase production, and this is the only way to overcome the crisis.

At the conclusion of the discussion, the delegates adopted a program of activity for the voivodship party organization for the forthcoming period. A resolution was passed at the suggestion of the participants protesting against the revisionist statement made by Minister Zimmermann, a representative of the FRG government.

Orzechowski Addresses Kielce Conference

AU171003 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 4

[Jerzy Jurczynski and Tadeusz Wiacek report on the 12 February PZPR Reports-Program Conference in Kielce Voivodship]

[Excerpt] With regard to the daily and the specialized party press, delegate Boleslaw Sulkowski from Kielce said that in his opinion the price shock connected with the increase in the prices of newspapers and magazines has already been overcome and that 58 million copies of newspapers and periodicals were sold in voivodship kiosks in 1981, while as many as 60 million copies were sold in 1982. But the specialized party press, which party aktivs and members need and which supplies facts and commentaries, is poorly disseminated. No one will do this for us, he said. Let us therefore consider recruiting, as in past years, distributors of party papers, who will reach the reader. This is an important sector of our propaganda and ideological work. Other delegates also spoke of the problems surrounding the party press and publications, giving examples of cases when these necessary propaganda materials did not arrive on time because somebody overlooked something or because someone did not see to something. Outdated copies have been known to fill up committee room cabinets. In this connection it should be stated that large batches of TRYBUNA LUDU and SLOWO LUDU were left in the kiosk next to the conference hall until the end of the discussions and did not find any readers among the voivodship's leading political aktiv. This a party journalist's bitter observation.

Winding up the discussion, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski spoke of the party's experience since the Ninth PZPR Congress with particular regard to the period following the imposition of martial law. This was the most difficult decision in the history of our party, which did not resign from the line mapped out by the Ninth PZPR Congress even for a moment.

We have traveled a difficult road, but the party has been regaining its strength and ability to act and lead the state along this road. The source of the party's achievements has been the conviction professed by a major part of the workers' class that it was not socialism that had failed them but the mistakes resulting from the departure from its principles. Despite the attempts to veer the party away from the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress, we have remained loyal and acted with consistency and determination. What we now need is an awareness of our responsibility on the road to the future. There can be no certainty that the worst is already behind us; we still have many problems before us. We must remember that we continue to act under conditions of intense political struggle. Our opponents keep changing their strategy and their tactics but their aim is always the same--to pull Poland away from the socialist community. It is for this reason that we must struggle against an enemy who is open and active and with whom we will be living under the same roof for many years to come. We must therefore fight wisely and effectively in order to deprive the opponent of support from the public. The principle--he who is not against us is with us--is valid. We

must not succumb to emotions during this struggle and we must employ a policy which is sober and realistic.

The resolution which was adopted stresses, inter alia, the need for party members to become more active, to form and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, to strengthen the party ranks and expand them, to enrich ideological and political work and to assist trade unions and workers' self-management bodies.

CSO: 2600/404

PLANS FOR IMPROVING MILITARY ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Brig Gen (M Eng) Jan Wojtala: "Improvement in Planning and Implementation; 1983-1985 Logistics"]

> [Text] We live in an extremely complicated world. The adversary is intensifying armaments, attempting to harass us economically, blackmail us politically, and frighten us militarily. The economy is one of the main planes of confrontation between socialism and capitalism. That part of it that is under our military control is a factor of special rivalry, for it has a bearing on the actual relationship of forces and, in fact, on the formation of our defense capability.

Our party and our government appropriate the necessary funds for the armed forces. We have always managed them very economically and wisely. But now we must be especially sensitive in this area. Many national requirements, many unsolved problems, stand before us. Under these circumstances, every mismanagement in our sector must be regarded as a violation of soldierly ethics.

Economic reform is the main factor in restoring balance to the national economy and bringing it back on the road of development. Much of what is being done through reform also has a relationship to logistics. In adapting the forms and methods of operation of the economic apparatus to the requirements of reform, we cannot limit ourselves exclusively to the relation: national economy-logistics. We must also examine the functioning of the internal arrangement of the logistics system from the standpoint of the executory regulations issued by the government on reform.

At the same time, we should remember that the reforming of the economy is a dynamic process which did not begin to develop until 1982. It is essential, therefore, to systematically observe the structural and functional changes in the national economy. Some of them undoubtedly can be also made use of in the military, despite its specific character.

The situation thus requires an innovative, active search for economically advisable and effective planning and implementation solutions in various fields and on various levels. And it is from this angle that we should look at the tasks ensuing from the assumptions of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985.

One of the main assumptions of this plan is a reduction in materials-intensiveness in all sectors of the national economy. Raw materials and other material means must be used in a manner that is not only economical but also effective. The military of every state, by reason of their functions, use up large materials reserves. We, too, do not occupy last place in the domestic balance of materials and fuel-energy management.

If we are to economically manage the means and materials so difficult to obtain today, we must concentrate our logistical efforts during 1983-1985 on improving the effectiveness of the training, operation and overhaul, and materials supply systems, and investment activity.

More specifically, we believe that the object of special attention should be such problems as:

--effective utilization of outlays in the priority directions of the development of the armed forces, which would ensure the indispensable growth in the armed forces combat capability and the country's defense potential;

--total observance of the specified, economical operating procedures of military armament and equipment;

--systematic verification of the standards and principles for maintaining materials stocks with a view toward reducing them without jeopardizing combat readiness;

--efficient consumption of building materials in military construction, particularly housing.

The main effort, therefore, should be directed at those fields of military activity which are most materials-intensive.

Assuming that reserves in the economy are inexhaustible, it is also well to remember that they are, conventionally, of two types.

We have, therefore, the simple reserves, which can be called upon at every level of command, and even the work station. They are relatively easy to discover and manage.

In addition, there are also the so-called complex reserves, whose utilization requires structural changes in the existing economic, organizational, etc., systems. Hence the disclosure of these latter reserves is, as a rule, possible at the higher levels of command and management.

One of the more important ways of improving logistics is through military training activity. This constitutes the main and very broad plane of collaboration of various elements of logistics in order to ensure the training process. There are many opportunities here for economical management, including through: improving the system of operating military weapons and other equipment used during training, using older models to replace the latest equipment at specified stages of combat training, and efficient utilization of technical training facilities in order to reduce training time on combat equipment.

These and other savings measures cannot be undertaken simply on the basis of intuitive assessments. A cost-effectiveness analysis is indispensable here, and far-advanced steps are being taken to introduce such an analysis.

In order to ensure the necessary state of military combat readiness and to meet training, economic and other needs, military weapons and equipment must constantly be maintained in good technical order. These tasks are performed by the military technical facilities. The durability of the equipment, the possibility of extending operating life, etc., are also dependent upon the quality of the services offered by these facilities. These are not only technical matters, they are also economic matters. The costs of purchasing military equipment either in our own country or in the allied states are high and are constantly increasing. For this reason, among others, we should ensure that the equipment that we are operating not become prematurely worn out due to inadequate maintenance and repair.

Much can be done in the way of savings-improvements in the area of operations-overhaul management. Examples include the possibility of instituting more modern methods of equipment repair (including more recycling of parts), better utilization of work time in shops, improvement in labor productivity of the staff employed in the engineering facilities, improvement in the organization and methods for diagnosing military equipment. Applying new or improving already existing measures should provide for higher quality and better scheduling of inspections and repairs, and as a consequence, higher operating efficiency of the equipment. It should also make it possible to extend the operating life, thus bringing definite economic results.

Management of liquid fuels is closely related with the operation of equipment, for the technical performance of military equipment has a decisive effect on fuel consumption. Liquid-fuels management problems have been given a very high priority in the military. This is understandable in today's energy-fuels crisis. Although a good level of management of liquid fuels and lubricating materials has been achieved in the armed forces, it is imperative at this time that the efficiency-improvement measures in this area of our activity be continued.

In large measure this improvement is effected by a system of analyzing the technical-economic efficiency of liquid-fuels consumption that has been introduced, which makes it possible to conduct an ongoing inspection of the correctness of fuels consumption by individual units of equipment and every driver. This system should be gradually improved as an instrument for effective counteraction of above-normal fuel consumption.

There is also room for improvement in the military's materiel management. This is an important task for the military's management apparatus, for it is of vital importance for the armed forces and the national economy. The field here is vast and includes such elements as improvement in size and structure of stocks, better storage of these stocks, renewal and rotation, reduction in materials-intensiveness, and increased replacement of scarce and imported materials. To implement these goals it will be necessary to develop analytical work on verifying the standards of materials consumption, operating standards, and budgetary expenditures standards.

We tie great hopes to the continuation of improvements in the system of military supply and services. This involves the following measures: more integration of the supply system, greater use of centralized transportation of materials, more coordination in motor and railroad haulage, optimal utilization of transport loading capacity, elimination of deadheading, and selection of transport means from the standpoint of cargo weight and profitability.

It is also important to improve the organization of deliveries to ensure comprehensiveness, regularity, and their frequency. Improper organization of deliveries can cause formation of excess materials stocks and have a disorganizing effect on the work of the warehouses.

Large material reserves are available in our investment activities. The country's restricted investment capabilities are responsible for the fact that the military construction plan, and especially the housing construction plan, in recent years was executed in a small percentage. Under these difficult circumstances we must do everything we can to make maximum use of the forces and means made available to us, to make use of all of the reserves, and stimulate human initiative so that our investment plans for 1983-1985 will be implemented.

An important factor in stimulating the development of logistics is research and application work. But it is essential that the usefulness of the research work be greater in relation to the actual needs of the military, and that it not be the particular interest of specific scientific workers, or military institutes or schools. In the scientific-research activities for 1983-1985 we will strictly observe the conformance of the implementation of tasks with the selected and preferred financial directions and capabilities.

Improvements in logistics promote economic research. The current plan for military economic studies provides for a concentration of research effort on the directions that are crucial and most urgent for the Ministry of National Defense and close coordination of these directions.

The directions and areas for improving logistics outlined above do not, of course, constitute a complete list. Nor do they indicate that in the past they were neglected.

Even before the occurrence of an economic crisis, the Ministry of National Defense revealed a deep concern about correct economical management, expressed primarily by economical utilization of its financial and material resources. This concern was shown in the preparation and application, during the mid-1970's, of a system of efficient management, integrating the past fragmentary or emergency economy measures undertaken by the particular services. This system is being improved as experience is accumulated.

In realistically estimating the time that it will take to bring the national economy out of the crisis we must realize that this process will be complex and prolonged. From this standpoint the idea of efficient management assumes a deep sociopolitical meaning and fully complies with the assumptions of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985.

We can note with satisfaction that perceptible progress is being made in the armed forces as regards economical management. This does not mean that we have achieved a fully perfect state of logistics. Disruptions do appear in its functioning, caused both by objective as well as subjective factors. That is why I believe that a broader exchange of experience and opinions on subjects relating to logistics would make an important contribution to improving it.

9295
CSO: 2600/302

DRAFT LAW ON SOCIAL LABOR INSPECTION PUBLISHED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jan 83 p 3

[Text] Given for Workers Teams' Evaluation

The Council of State reviewed on 30 Dec 1982 a draft law on social labor inspection and decided to present it for nationwide social evaluation and then to enter it before the Sejm.

At the request of the Council of State we are printing the full text of the draft today, encouraging all those interested to express their opinions concerning the contents of this legal document which is immeasurably important to all employed people.

We request that you direct your remarks, opinions, recommendations and observations to the Chancellery of the Council of State, Warsaw, Wiejska Street 4/6, or to the address: Editors of RZECZPOSPOLITA 00-95; Warsaw, 2 Mysia Street.

Consultations will be in progress till 28 Feb 1983.

LAW

Of 1983 on Social Labor Inspection

In order to ensure the necessary conditions for the Trade Unions effective on-the-job protection of workers' teams and of all the working people, with our concern about systematic improvement of working conditions, Social Labor Inspection is thus called to being.

Chapter 1

General Directives

Article 1

Social labor inspection is a social service fulfilled by the workers in their enterprises to ensure work safety and hygiene and to protect employee rights as defined in the labor law directives.

Article 2

1. Social labor inspection represents the interests of all the workers of work enterprises and is under the direction of the labor unions.

2. In the enterprises in which workers do not have the right to assemble into labor unions social labor inspection shall be directed by the employee council.

Article 3

Social labor inspection is composed of:

the enterprise labor inspector, for the entire enterprise;

branch (department) labor inspectors, for the individual branches (departments);

group labor inspectors, for the organizational units within the branches (departments).

Chapter 2

Tasks and organization of social labor inspection

Article 4

The tasks of social labor inspection inspectors are:

1) controlling the technical performance of machinery, technical and sanitary equipment, as well as what concerns worker protection in technological processes,

2) controlling adherence to labor law directives and decisions made as collective agreements, enterprise treaties, work regulations, especially in matters of job safety and hygiene, the protection of female, youth and handicapped workers, vacations and work hours, services connected with on-the-job accidents and job-related diseases,

3) participation in enterprise determination of the circumstances and reasons for on-the-job accidents, within the limits set forth in work law directives,

4) participation in the analyses of causes of accidents and illnesses resulting from work, and diseases related to, or induced by, work environment or surroundings; as well as participation in the supervision of the countermeasures introduced by the enterprise to remove environmental hazard,

5) participation in the actual process of social inspection of work conditions,

6) participation in working out plans for the improvement of job conditions, job-security and hygiene and in the planning of professional rehabilitation as well as in the supervision of the functioning of these plans,

7) fulfillment of other tasks defined by law and by individual directives.

Article 5

1. The post of social labor inspector may be held by any worker in a given enterprise who is a union member, and who does not hold any managerial position as defined in articles 234 and 235 of the work code issued on 26 June 1974 (Journal of Laws number 24, item 141 and of 1975, number 16, item 91).

2. Enterprise union organizations may decide that a nonunion member may be a candidate for social labor inspector.

3. The social labor inspector ought to be acquainted with the essential problems that constitute the range of activity of social labor inspection and he ought to have at least two year's experience in the sector of which his enterprise is a member.

Article 6

First Option

1. The inspectors of social labor inspection shall be elected and terminated by the employees of a given enterprise.

Second Opinion

1. The inspectors of Social Labor Inspection [SLI] shall be elected and terminated by the enterprise union members.

2. Their tenure shall be a 3 year period.

3. An SLI inspector may be terminated prior to the lapse of his term of office due to improper fulfillment of his duties.

4. In case of SLI inspector termination, his resignation from his duties, or in the case of his termination as an employee, a supplemental election shall be held to fill the so-formed vacancy.

Article 7

First Option

1. The enterprise and branch (department) labor inspectors shall be elected by:

1) the general assembly of employees of the enterprise or its branch (department) in the enterprises and their branches (departments) totalling up to 500 employees,

2) in the enterprises and their branches (departments) above 500 employees:

a) the enterprise labor inspector shall be elected by an assembly of branch (department) and group labor inspectors,

b) the branch (department) labor inspector shall be elected by the group labor inspectors' assembly.

2. Group labor inspectors shall be elected by the employees of branch (departmental) organization units.

3. Details of the procedures and regulations concerning SLI inspectors shall be determined by the labor unions.

4. Organization of social labor inspector elections shall be the responsibility of the enterprise union organizations.

Second Option

1. Enterprise, branch and group labor inspectors shall be elected according to established electoral organs of the labor unions active in a given enterprise in agreement with the statute of a given labor union.

2. Details of the procedures and regulations for SLI inspector elections shall be worked out by labor unions.

3. Enterprise union organizations shall organize the election of the SLI inspectors.

Chapter 3

Rights and procedural principles of the social labor inspection

Article 8

1. A social labor inspector shall be at all times entitled to enter the premises and equipment of an enterprise to perform his duties as defined in article 4.

2. A social labor inspector is entitled to request information from the manager and from the employees of an enterprise, and to look at the documents concerning matters relevant to his activities.

Article 9

1. Should he find that regulations discussed in article 4 have not been observed, a social labor inspector is to draw the attention of the enterprise, branch or departmental manager to it, and at the same time, enter his comments in his book of observations.

2. The manager of such enterprise, branch or department is the one to take up appropriate measures to correct these discovered deviations and to notify SLI inspector about his decisions.

Article 10

1. From his own or branch inspector findings the enterprise labor inspector is to issue written recommendations concerning correction of the discovered shortcomings within a defined period of time. He is to issue these to the enterprise manager.

2. In instances of immediate danger that could cause an accident at work, an enterprise labor inspector is entitled to order cessation of work.

3. Recourse from the recommendations specified here in sections 1 and 2 may be made by an enterprise manager within seven days from the moment of appropriate district labor inspector receipt of such recommendations. The district labor inspector issues his decision based on the regulations of administrative procedure.

Article 11

1. An enterprise has a duty to provide the labor branch, enterprise (department) inspectorates a book designated for their written comments and recommendations.

2. The books of comments must be made available to be examined by labor unions, functionaries of crew self-government, to the bodies of State Labor Inspectorates and to other bodies supervising or controlling labor conditions.

Article 12

1. An enterprise cannot give notice or terminate work agreements by notice to its employee functioning as a social labor inspector.

2. Work agreement with the said inspector may be dissolved without notice, due to his fault, with a prior agreement from the labor union.

3. Regulations specified in section 1 here are not followed in the case of enterprise dissolution or when the said employee reaches retirement, or invalid group I or II compensation.

Article 13

1. An enterprise has a duty to ensure appropriate conditions in which social labor inspectors can perform their tasks.

2. The costs of social labor inspection are to be borne by the enterprise.

Article 14

1. Should the enterprise labor inspector need to perform his function outside of his work hours he is entitled to receive prorated remuneration for up to sixty hours a month, estimated on the same basis as his vacation leave.

The number of such hours is defined by the enterprise manager, based on labor union recommendation.

2. SLI inspectors retain the right to remuneration when they need to perform their duties or participate in conferences and workshops during their working hours.

3. In the enterprises whose employees are subject to particularly hazardous health and life-threatening work conditions which require constant social supervision, the manager may release his enterprise labor inspector from the duties of his regular job while allowing him to retain his right to earnings. Such a situation would occur at labor union request.

4. In cases such as discussed in section 3 above, the enterprise labor inspector retains the right to the same salary he was paid at the moment of being delegated to his inspectorship. He retains his salary throughout the period of his inspectorship and his pay must undergo the same changes as would occur in his regular job at the time of his inspectorship.

Article 15

Details of the operating principles for social labor inspectors are determined by the labor unions.

Chapter 4

Cooperation between the Social Labor Inspection and the State Labor Inspectorate as well as other organs of labor condition's control and supervision

Article 16

Social labor inspectors cooperate with the State Labor Inspectorate and with other organs of labor condition's control and supervision to the extent established by the present law and by labor union defined principles discussed in article 15.

Article 17

1. State Labor Inspectorate shall aid SLI in the technical aspects of its functioning.

2. Labor inspectors check SLI inspectors' performance and remarks.

Article 18

1. Inspectors of the State Labor Inspectorate, called upon by the enterprise labor inspectors, check matters endangering the health and lives of employees. They also initiate the proceedings in matters of transgression against the rights of employees.

2. State SLI inspectors participate in spot-checking of enterprises by the local labor inspector, while the enterprise labor inspector participates in discussions over the results of such checks.

Article 19

The State Labor Inspectorate helps labor unions train SLI inspectors, specifically, by organizing courses, legal counselling and specialized publications.

Article 20

State Labor Inspectorate, Office of Technical Supervision, Industrial Health Services and other organizations of control and labor conditions supervision are obligated to help SLI in the fulfillment of its duties.

Chapter 5

Pro-tempore and final directives

Article 21

1. The Council of State shall define guidelines for the first elections of SLI inspectors.

2. Until the moment of defining SLI inspector's duties, which are discussed in article 15 here, the guidelines for SLI inspectors' functioning shall be defined by the Council of State.

3. After three years from the date of this law's ratification the Council of State, in consultation with labor unions, shall evaluate progress in the realization of this law and will initiate any necessary changes.

Article 22

In cases discussed here in article 2, section 2, the rights and duties anticipated by the present law and by the executive acts of enterprise labor unions shall be executed in accordance with the [directives] of employee councils.

Article 23

1. Anyone acting on behalf of an enterprise who tampers with the directives of the present law, and especially, who does not obey the enterprise

SLI inspector's recommendations or obstructs fulfillment of their duties is punishable by a fee of up to 20,000 zlotys.

2. The pronouncement of a punishment fee follows the directives of articles 284-290 of 26 June 1974 law, labor code (Journal of Law number 24, item 141 and the law of 1975 number 16, item 91).

Article 24

The 4 February 1950 laws of social labor inspection are hereby invalidated (Text units in the Journal of Law of 1955, number 20, item 134 and of 1965, number 13, item 91) as well as the directives issued in connection with these.

Article 25

The present law is ratified on the day of its appearance.

9934
CSO: 2600/270

WEEKLY APPEALS FOR REHABILITATION OF YOUTH

AU091036 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 6 Feb 83 p 6

[bronislaw Barcicki article: "The Shameful Business of Rehabilitation"]

[Excerpts] Everyone knows that many disturbing phenomena occur among young people. A good deal has been said about this during the past few years and from time to time the alarm is raised. Several experts pronounce a few words, certain conclusions are drawn, after which everything goes back to normal. This does not mean, of course, that nothing is being done. Many institutions and organizations deal with this, with the problems of preventing the demoralization and delinquency of the younger generation as well as with rehabilitation, which literally involves, without exaggeration, a considerable array of people. However, it appears that this is insufficient in relation to the intensity and scale of the problems with which we are dealing.

The scale of the dangers is revealed by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs' "Report on the Conditions for a Start in Life and Work for Young People." There we can read, for example, that 60 percent of the pupils from postelementary schools admit to drinking alcohol, a considerable number need rehabilitation therapy, while in practice this possibility does not exist; almost a million children under 17 live with alcoholic or criminal families or families that restrict their proper development, while 11 percent of the families are incomplete.

Another phenomenon is the alarming proportions of the recent growth in drug addiction (in 1980 the Citizens' Militia registered 8,350 persons who were suspected of being involved with drugs; other figures vary between 80,000, according to the institution of Psychoneurology, and 500-600,000 as given by the Center for Rehabilitation in Garwolin), which has become a craze among 14-15-year-olds. On average, 65 percent of criminals caught per year are less than 30 years of age.

A separate problem in social parasitism. A good number of young people who are not engaged in study or work are particularly influenced by criminal circles. As much as 16 percent of young people between the ages of 15 and 17 do not study or work. Almost 200,000 young people have not completed their elementary schooling. Every tenth pupil from every age group leaves

elementary school before completing the last year. Children from rural areas or partly urban regions do not finish their schooling more often than not because no one has tackled the problems connected with their studies in time.

About 5 percent of the pupils do not attempt to continue their studies after completing elementary school. Almost 7 percent of those who finish elementary school have only poor reading ability and do not understand the meaning of simple texts. The number of so-called social orphans continues to grow as a direct result of family disintegration. The number of children in the care of foster courts has increased in recent years. According to the details of the report, over 173,000 minors were registered as being in the care of the courts in 1980, including 35,000 natural and social orphans.

There is no need to continue the register of complaints. The quoted data is sufficiently telling, even alarming. Similarly obvious (in declarations, at least) is the conviction that there is an urgent need to undertake the task of social rehabilitation in a broader sense as well as through special programs carried out by specialized institutions, and in instructional work with a wide range of young people. That leaves us with the problem of the efficiency of the efforts we have undertaken and the question of how long our constancy and obduracy will last. Our experience to date indicated that this problem is more often than not left to specialist organizations and institutions which are not always known to the public in general and which do not always receive adequate material or moral support to match their needs.

The struggle for the positive effect of this rehabilitation on difficult youngsters is composed of combatting false shame and the need for all those who are interested in the education of the younger generation to understand this problem. If a complete understanding of this issue is not achieved, then we will all be--and already are--suffering irretrievable losses in the form of thousands of young people who have been pushed into the fringe of society without hope of returning to the mainstream of life.

CSO: 2600/400

RESULTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON YOUTH ATTITUDES REPORTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Jan 83 p 6

[Article by Bronislaw Golebiowski]

> [Texts] In time of crisis the temptation to hastily label the attitudes and aspirations of youth increases. It is precipitated by various reasons, from a desire to look for the accomplices in provoking critical clashes ("that lazy, consumption-oriented, and politically uneducated youth") to attempts to look for hope of getting out of trouble with the help of the young forces and minds capable of coming up with innovative reforms, so needed then.

These judgements and discussions, common in society, are additionally colored by purposefully concocted political-propagandist labels aiming at creating or consolidating certain political attitudes of rebellion, disappointment, and doubt that the crisis can be overcome at all such as "the lost generation" (meaning, lost for the socialism and the party, but also suggesting that it is lost hopelessly and without a way out unless the political system is changed), or "the deceived generation" (meaning, deceived by the vision of the "second Poland" and the "success propaganda" of the 1970s, but also suggesting that it was deceived by socialism and the People's Poland in general), etc. We are flooded now by these peculiar evaluations and labels... They have nothing in common with a realistic view and understanding of the problems encountered by the youth. Sociological research and polls, conducted during the martial law in 1982, and analyses of the comments, offered by teenagers throughout Poland during the developing social conflicts at the turn of the year 1980, point to something else. Despite great and justified disappointments, and shocking experiences, which were fueled by the atmosphere of great anarchy and political struggle, including clearly antisocialist propaganda and the activities of the politicos from the Committee for the Defense of Workers [KOR] and of the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] in "Solidarity" (not necessarily as card-bearing members, but espousing its cause) who counted on dismantling the state and the economy, young Poles got involved in sharp conflicts to defend and create systemic conditions for an honest realization of the ideals of socialism and not to bring back capitalism or to create a socioeconomic and political system akin to capitalism.

The motivation behind that rebellion was still basically socialists and inspired by the social and often ideomoral socialist ideals, even if they were not called by that name directly at the time. Thus, KOR propagandists may call this generation, the "lost" generation to their aims indeed. It did not allow to be used for the purpose of destroying its own country...At the same time, however, the same research and analyses clearly show--in my view--that the experiences of those years, that is the 1970s, and the struggles of the 1980-81 period, have strongly determined the will and attitudes of this generation with regard to active resistance to any attempt of reanimation--however fragmentary--of the pre-August 1980 political system as well as reluctance against easy acceptance of the demagogic slogan "change for change's sake," unaccompanied by a positive program, the slogan so often addressed to the young by the said KOR activists in the hot years of 1980-81.

This generation becomes increasingly aware of deceit--whether intended or sometimes unintended--on the part of those activists--a deceit no less dangerous and cynical than the deceit of the "success propaganda" of the 1970s. In this regard the antisocialist propagandists were only partly successful and only when they were able to create the "threat psychosis" and provoke the "mob psychology" in the period of a continuous strike seesaw in 1981.

In general, they cannot say even quietly and for their own purposes that they have succeeded in deceiving that young generation. The conditions of self-reflection were rather shocking and painful for many young people; the imposition of martial law. The situation would be worse--something that was counted on and predicted by the said propagandists--if reflection did not take place.

The sociological studies I have referred to have been carried out in May 1982 and they covered 1,082 high school, technical high school, trade school, and college students. Similar studies had been carried out by the same Institute for the Studies of the Young in the spring of 1981. The questionnaires focused on the meaning of and the reasons for the crisis in Poland, responsibility for it, and defining forces striving for renewal and those hampering this process. They also attempted to solicit views on the ways to overcome the crisis and on the most pressing reforms necessary in the renewal process.

I have also analyzed 500 teenagers' memoirs gathered as the result of a contest sponsored in 1980 by the KONTAKTY, a periodical published in Lomza. The contest was publicized by the press around the country in the fall of 1980 and by the spring of 1981 the collection contained autobiographical notes of teenagers from all over the country, representing various milieus. This material is not sufficient for scholarly generalizations (most respondents attended school and represented the youngest generation). Nevertheless, it is sufficient for putting forward a few hypotheses warranting further studies and discussions. This is exactly the purpose of my article....

The responses to questions regarding the meaning of and the reasons for the crisis in Poland (there were several different questions asked, but I am talking about a total and collective meaning of the answers) testify, in my

opinion, to the fact that very young people (most of the respondents were born in the years 1961-66) are rather very well informed about the difficult political processes. Most singled out four basic crisis-generating factors present in the pre-August political-economic system: the divergence of interests and views between the authorities and the society; the lack of effective action and competence on the part of the authorities; the lack of democracy and self-government; and erroneous planning and economic concepts (63-66 percent of respondents).

The resolution of the 9th PZPR Congress of 1981 spelled out the same reasons for the crisis. This does not mean, however, that the respondents were familiar with it. It means that the current generation of students is quite well informed in general matters and their knowledge in this area is not as shallow and fragmentary as some maintain, for the range of information reaching them is quite broad and they are capable of digesting it in a reflexive manner.

Thus it is the government and the party (actually, it is the Politburo and the party echelons, and not the entire party as the antisocialist propaganda has claimed) are mainly singled out as those responsible for bringing Poland to the criticial antagonistic stage of the years 1980-81. Regardless of what we could have added to that analysis, we have to admit that the thinking of these young people points out to their rational approach to the analysis of the crisis. Nobody can absolve the party and government leadership from that responsibility.

Equally realistic is the analysis of the cause of the introduction of the martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981; the following were listed as the main reasons: the state's loss of control over the situation in the country due to the growing conflict between the authorities and "Solidarity" and the rapidly worsening economic (market) situation, which threatened the collapse of the market which the government was incapable to control. Here again, the students very realistically noted that the responsibility for that situation was shared by political opposition (noted by more than 43 percent of the respondents) and by the "Solidarity" with stubbornness of its leadership, escalation of strikes and demands, and its excessive political aspirations (noted by 41 percent of the respondents). Considering the fact that the comments were offered on the sixth month of the martial law, they were very realistic (let up keep in mind the age and experience of the respondents!).

An article is not a comprehensive report on the results of the study. Therefore, I limit myself to the examples already mentioned. In my opinion they testify to the fact that we are dealing with a substantial and realistic orientation of this generation (or more precisely, with a part of this generation: high school and college students) pondering what happened and who is primarily responsible for it.

If this hypothesis is really correct--and there is a great probability that it is--then it will be futile to convince that generation that the guilty party is "socialism, because it is so unreformable" and "the communist party, because it is communist." Such statements will be easily perceived as another cock-and-bull story intended for children to threaten them for different purposes as well as another attempt at manipulating them, or just a talk to naive persons.

This generation wants to understand and know what is happening. It wants to test that knowledge in practice. It does not want to take for granted any official statements on state affairs from anybody. It does not want to follow empty slogans. It wants to know and participate in shaping what it considers to be a social ideal, which is at the same time the real indicator of the direction of its own life and of social conditions of development: here and now.

Is this pragmatism? Yes, with regard to matters which require a pragmatic--or rather, practical and realistic--approach such an attitude can be called pragmatic or positivistic. I consider this as a valuable feature, or rather a germ of such a feature, sprouting in that generation after the experiences in the 1970s and the storm of the year 1980-81.

Out of 16 urgent problems to be solved to bring the country out of crisis and martial law the respondents singled out the following ones as the most important (chosen by 76 to 83 percent of the respondents): the achievement of market stability; elimination of all forms of black marketeering; trial and punishment of those responsible for the crisis; regulation of conditions for the repayment of foreign loans; and improvement of labor discipline. Are not these recommendations very realistic? One can hardly have any major objections here.

Contrary to appearances, however, it is not pragmatism devoid of a general ideal and a perspective reflection with regard to the principles of future development, both of the country and of the entire world. In response to the question, "Do you believe that the world ought to develop in the direction of socialism in accordance with its theoretical fundamentals?" only 11.6 percent of the respondents offered the answer "Definitely not" despite the deep crisis, martial law, and total anonimity reserved for the respondents. Although not many more--19.3 percent--answered "definitely yes" and nearly 18 percent had no opinion, it only proves the honesty of the respondents, in my opinion.

At the same time I wish to draw attention to a fundamental problem: the young have close affinity with the social ideals of socialism. Most of them do not exhibit a simple and reflectionless negation of these ideals, although they have been badly undermined by their erroneous and nonsocialist realization in the political system of Poland of the 1970s and by the antisocialist propaganda of 1980-81. The above mentioned question was answered with "rather yes" by more than 30 percent of the respondents, and with "rather not" by more than 16 percent. Thus, in May 1981 we had nearly 50 percent of high school and college students who were not sure or had doubts.

I believe that considering the moment and situation at the time this was in general a vote for socialism. This result proved that the social ideals of socialism had been strongly internalized in the consciousness and attitudes of those young Poles. At the same time these results show a reflexive approach to that problems by the young. They rejected an automatic acceptance for the most part, and this feature of the young generation ought to be further strengthened.

Since the above question (about the socialist or nonsocialist future of the world) was a two-part (the second part requested that the choice be justified) one can see the sources of reflections, wavers ("Rather yes"), and doubts ("Rather not"). These answers (often expanded and highly independent in reasoning and recommended solutions) show better the reasons for vacillations and doubts and the necessary conditions for bold decisions. The answers point clearly to one thing: socialism realized in accordance with its theoretical fundamentals--yes; socialism which is undemocratic, bureaucratic, phony, with voluntarist bases of development (particularly in the economic sphere), without society's control over the authorities, without honest elections to the society's representative organs, without a democratic mechanism for promotion of the best to the top positions, and without a rational freedom of speech and conscience as well freedom for the individual--definitely no.

The stream of demands of August 1980, represented by workers, who were not tainted by demagogic political games, left a positive and indelible seal in the minds and attitudes of that generation; a seal particularly strong, because it was left in the minds and imagination (attitudes and will) of such young and still-shaping personalities. The results of the questionnaire as well as the memorial notes show that the young generation will never allow that the realization of those demands be abandoned; and they will not insist on it against socialism, but in the name of honest realization of social and moral ideals of socialism. To me this is a very optimist hypothesis about the present attitudes of the young. Too optimistic, perhaps? It is justified, though, by the results of extensive and reliable studies. This means that it is a generation decisively antibureaucratic, antidogmatic, prodemocratic, roused intellectually above their age--even in the area of politics--and critical. But the young are neither destruction- nor consumption-oriented as claimed by some observers. They want socialist development of the socio-economic and political system of Poland in accordance with the new needs and capabilities of the nation as well as their own (we are a young society).

That is why (not in opposition to socialism) the young demand consistent changes in the system of representative organs and in the public life...

The movement of national renewal and the national agreement will gain a strong supporter if they take into account the aspirations of the young generation which are in fact expressing the desires of the majority of our society.

"The lost generation"? "The betrayed generation"? In view of the above hypotheses one ought to ask for whom was it lost and by whom was it betrayed? To me these are just labels given on the spot without any real understanding of the situation. They are often cynically and manipulatively given to the "supposedly naive" young Poles, who are in fact realistic and educated by experience.

8609
CSO: 2600/298

WESTERN COMMENT ON 'VJESNIK' JOURNALIST ARREST

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 8 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by cvk: "The Power of Yugoslav Political Justice--Sentencing of a Journalist Troublemaker"]

[Text] Belgrade, February--Yugoslav public opinion is currently disturbed by the case of the well known journalist Ranka Adum Cicak, 41, who has for 20 years worked as a correspondent of the big Zagreb daily VJESNIK, and who was recently convicted in the small Serbian town of Sremska Mitrovica on a charge of having made "enemy propaganda." The paragraph dealing with such crimes in the Yugoslav penal code provides for jail sentences of up to 10 years; Mrs Cicak was given two and one-half years. Since her arrest in the middle of October until the sentencing in late December she was held in pre-trial detention at the prison in which before the war Tito and other prominent political "criminals" had been jailed and which today does not contain a section for women and none for pre-trial detainees. The fact that the court declined to release her during the appeal process has outraged lawyers, journalists and large parts of the population in equal measure.

The case has a number of different aspects; one of them involves the traditional Serbian-Croatian conflict. What is particularly fascinating about this case is the fact that for the first time the media published a full report of the court proceedings which clearly highlights the manipulations inherent in this political process and thus serves also indirectly to open for discussion the sensitive subject of political justice in Yugoslavia in retrospective fashion. Any reader can determine for himself that this is not at all a case of "enemy propaganda," but rather an act of vengeance on the part of a group of corrupt local bigwigs. It reads like a cheap mystery novel or a political comedy; nevertheless it has an extremely serious background.

It started in the village of Pecinc--about 60 km northwest of Belgrade--in the autonomous province of Vojvodina. There Ranka Cicak owns a weekend house and has many friends among her neighbors. She hears about the peoples' problems. First of all they are beset by horrendous environmental pollution, mainly the fault of one farmer who permits his 50 pigs to die partly from dirt, partly from lack of feeding. Secondly, there is local government which simply ignores the many requests from the villagers to hold the man responsible for his acts.

And finally there was the inexplicable phenomenon of sudden great affluence in the village. The pig farmer bought himself several automobiles and employed a private chauffeur. Tremendous amounts of money are being spent in the local bars, houses are being built at great speed--affluence is bursting out all over. Journalist Cicak started to investigate the background of all this--and early last year she published an account of one of the biggest scams of the last few years.

Apart from specific swindles, Ranka Cicak's investigation of the situation in Pecinc and a few neighboring villages disclosed a close intertwining of party, police, court and economic circles in the region. That was why the fraudulent pig breeder was left in peace; that was why enormous sums of money could be thrown around under the eyes of those responsible for law and political order; and that was why Ranka Cicak and her friends received grave threats that she would be "politically ruined." This is what happened: witnesses swore that she had badmouthed Tito and Yugoslavia; that she had described certain high functionaries as "dumb" and the delegates of the Federal parliament as "illiterates," etc. One witness maintained that she had contact with Ustashi emigrants in foreign countries and that she had been sent in from the outside "as a spy, to cause unrest among the peaceful population."

Even though nothing was left of those accusations after the trial was over, the predetermined judgment was announced, as is always the case in political trials in Yugoslavia. The sentence was justified with the statement that it should serve as a deterrent example to citizens who are prone to making "hostile" statements. But Yugoslav journalists consider themselves to be the real target: obviously the trial was intended to make them think twice before using their own initiative in uncovering social and economic misdeeds in their country.

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CSO: 2300/133

DATA ON EMIGRATION FROM YUGOSLAVIA, 1968-81

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 18

[Article by Mladen Vedris of the Zagreb Center for Migration Research: "Emigration From Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Since the beginning of the 1960's, Yugoslavia has been participating more and more in European migration movements. In the process of the continued increase in the number of Yugoslav citizens in the countries of Western and Central Europe, the maximum number of a total of 1,110,000 (860,000 workers and 250,000 dependent family members) was reached by the end of 1973.1

Table I: Migrant Workers From the SFRY

Year Year	Number Leaving During the Year	Total at the End of the Year	Chained Index (previous year =100)
1968	80,000	260,000	--
1969	130,000	330,000	127.0
1970	240,000	600,000	181.8
1971	145,000	680,000	113.3
1972	145,000	770,000	113.2
1973	115,000	860,000	111.7
1974	30,000	810,000	94.2
1975	25,000	770,000	95.1
1976	20,000	725,000	94.2
1977	20,000	705,000	97.2
1978	32,000	695,000	98.6
1979	35,000	690,000	99.3
1980	30,000	693,000	100.4
1981	30,000	695,000	100.3

1968-1981 1,077,000

After 1973 (the beginning of an economic recession) there was a decline in the number of Yugoslav workers abroad, but there was an increase in the number of

dependent family members; it is estimated that at the end of 1981 there were 1,105,000 Yugoslav citizens abroad (695,000 workers and 410,000 dependent family members). The total number in 1981 declined slightly in comparison with 1973, but the structure changed considerably. In 1973, dependent family members constituted only 21.5 percent of the total emigrant contingent, but 7 years later this share climbed to 37 percent. It is obvious that the trend toward stabilization of residence, which has been observed for the entire population of "foreigners" in the European host countries, also applies to the Yugoslav citizens. There are fewer of those who work, but on the other hand there are more of those who live as dependent family members. They are also staying longer and longer. Thus, by the end of 1979 as many as 40 percent of the Yugoslav citizens in West Germany had already lived there between 10 and 15 years, while for the entire foreign population this percentage was only 23.7 percent. Four-fifths of the Yugoslav citizens at that time had been in West Germany for 6 years or more (as opposed to two-thirds of the total foreign population). In the middle of 1981, 55.1 percent of the Yugoslav citizens had already lived in West Germany for 10 years or more; for the Yugoslav population as a whole, the average length of stay in West Germany (for "guest workers"!) was 10.2 years. Since most of the Yugoslav workers and family members live in West Germany, these data are characteristic of the Yugoslav emigrant population as a whole.

Table II: Workers From Yugoslavia by Country of Employment

Host Country	Number in 1977	Percent	Number in 1980	Percent
Austria	140,000	19.9	130,000	18.7
France	55,000	7.8	58,000	8.4
Netherlands	10,000	1.4	10,000	1.4
West Germany	405,000	57.5	403,000	58.2
Sweden	26,000	3.7	25,000	3.6
Switzerland	34,000	4.8	31,000	4.5
Other European countries	35,000	4.9	36,000	5.2
Total	705,000	100.0	693,000	100.0

It is apparent that in addition to the number of migrant workers from Yugoslavia in the West European countries from 1977 to the present, their structure by country of employment has also remained nearly unchanged. Throughout this entire period, more than three-fourths of the migrant workers were concentrated in the countries of the German-speaking area (Austria and West Germany--76.9 percent of the total).

Benefits and Disadvantages of Employment Abroad

Several studies and assessments have been written on the effects of external migrations, both individual and social, but there have also been controversies. The approach has differed to a great extent, depending on the

original viewpoints of the author of the analysis, and on whether the research is performed by the host country or the country of origin of the emigrants; and even within these two main groups there are differences in their positions in research on emigration.

Beginning with the economic aspect, the chief motive for external migrations, the host countries stress the amounts that the emigrants send to their homeland, and emphasize their relative and absolute importance for balancing the balances of payments of the countries of origin of the migrants, expanding domestic payment-capable demand, creating multiplicative effects on the growth of industrial production, and making overall economic activity more dynamic.

The countries of origin of the migrant workers point out that most of the earnings of the migrants remain in the host countries; part of this is in the form of taxes and contributions that are withheld from the gross earnings of the migrants and form part of the social funds of those countries in which the migrants do not have a proportionate share in the benefits from these funds. The other part is spent to support them; a greater degree of adaptation and adjustment to the host country also entails more intensive current expenditures. A third part remains in the form of savings in accounts in the local banks, and only the remainder arrives in the country of origin.

What are the positive and negative effects of external migrations in the case of Yugoslavia? From 1968 to 1972, during the years of the most intensive employment of people from our country abroad, jobs outside their homeland were sought by 740,000 workers, or an average of about 150,000 each year. For the sake of illustration, at the same time an average of 130,000 jobs were opened up in Yugoslavia each year. In this context, and in view of the large number of applications at employment services, leaving for work abroad served as a "safety valve" in the domestic labor market, reducing pressure on employment in the social sector of the economy.

It is certain that a special place in the analysis of the economic benefits resulting from the emigration process belongs to the foreign exchange remittances from migrant workers. The exact amount of these is very difficult to determine, and the estimated values differ considerably, depending on whether they are expressed in gross or net terms.[2] Thus, for 1980 the gross amount for Yugoslavia was about $4 billion, and the net amount was $1.44 billion. Since the National Bank of Yugoslavia uses the gross method for expressing the foreign exchange remittances from guest workers abroad, we will use it below for the share of remittances in Yugoslavia's balance of payments for 1980 and 1981, in order to illustrate their value:

Table III: Remittances From Workers Abroad and Their Share in Yugoslavia's International Balance of Payments in 1980 and 1981, in Millions of Dollars

Expenditures and Receipts by Purpose	1980* Expenditures	%	1981* Expenditures	%	Index 80/81
total expenditure	19,472	100.0	20,536	100.0	105.5
for commodity imports	14,309	73.5	14,110	68.7	98.6
other	5,163	26.5	6,426	31.3	124.5
total receipts	17,952	100.0	19,988	100.0	111.3
commodity exports	9,269	51.6	10,185	50.9	109.9
tourism	1,115	6.2	1,073	5.4	96.2
workers and emigrants	4,791	26.7	4,928	24.7	102.9
other	2,777	15.5	3,802	19.0	136.9
balance	-1,520		-548		-36.1

* National Bank of Yugoslavia's data
** Preliminary data

Even in the case of other European countries providing a considerable number of guest workers, such as Greece, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey, foreign exchange remittances are an item of exceptional importance for balancing or reducing deficits in the balance of payments. A separate problem is how to take away the exclusively consumption function of foreign exchange remittances are an item of exceptional importance for balancing or reducing deficits in the balance of payments. A separate problem is how to take away the exclusively consumption function of foreign exchange remittances. How to place them at the service of economic development. In order to create the conditions for a return and reintegration of those working abroad, is a question for which all of the countries of origin, with more or less success, are seeking the right answers.

Other benefits realized by the emigrants in the process of emigration are constituted by their learning foreign languages and acquiring new knowledge, work experience, and job skills in the industrially developed countries.

The negative effects resulting from emigration become more apparent the longer the residence and work abroad; in the case of a long-term stay in those countries by the emigrants, they are definitive. The massive and mainly unorganized employment abroad before 1973 had a fairly unfavorable structure, from our point of view. Almost every second worker left a job in Yugoslavia for temporary work abroad. Frequently these were skilled and academically educated workers, those responsible for the production process in their areas, in the prime of their lives and their working potential. The vacant jobs were filled with new personnel, who were often inadequate, This had a negative effect on increasing production in the economy, and in broader terms, on the rate of economic growth and the pace of development.

Direct losses (damages) are also expressed in the expenditures for educating and raising the workers temporarily working abroad. One also should not forget the other outlays arising for the area from which the migrant left for

temporary work abroad. The construction and maintenance of the infrastructure which serves general and joint purposes is primarily financed by allocations in Yugoslavia, and the costs of educating the children of migrants who remain in Yugoslavia, and the costs of the rest of the social infrastructure, are again met by allocations from the incomes of those employed in the economy of our country, etc.

Along with these primarily economic aspects of the positive and negative effects of employment abroad, there are also social aspects, which are harder to measure, but no less significant. The prolonged or long-term separation of members of the family results in a larger number of divorces in migrant families. Next, emigration accelerates the process of the creation of aged households (especially village ones), and of the general aging of the population of the country of origin. As a result of the length of residence and work abroad in recent years, there has in particular been an exacerbation of the problem of the second generation, the children of the emigrants, who are divided between their host country, to which they are insufficiently or not at all adjusted, and the country of origin of their parents, which they often do not even know.

Return Movements

In the past the return of migrant workers has taken three basic forms: a) forced return, as the result of a loss of a permit to work and (or) live in a given foreign country; b) spontaneous--their own decision to return, because they have achieved the goals for which they left for work abroad, because their children are going to school, because of old parents, to take over a family farm, etc.; and c) stimulated by measures and activities undertaken in Yugoslavia for their return. It is felt that the first form played a strong role from 1973 to 1975. Today the spontaneous form is predominant, and the smallest role is played by the last form, which is aimed especially at skilled personnel and occupations in short supply in the Yugoslav economy (but which are also sought in the labor markets of foreign countries). What do quantitative indices show about the return movements?

From 1968 to 1981, approximately the same number of workers as there now are living in Western Europe returned to Yugoslavia. From 1974 to the present, the number of people returning each year has always been larger than the number of those leaving, but this tendency was reversed again in 1980 and 1981, when more Yugoslav citizens were employed abroad then returned to Yugoslavia. A considerable imbalance in the return movements was also observed with somewhat more pronounced intensity from 1974 to 1976. Employment abroad experienced the above-mentioned "boom" from 1969 to 1973.

Except for the smaller portion of the emigrants that ceases to be active after returning to Yugoslavia (retirement, living on annuities or savings, etc.), most of them attempt to continue working in their homeland. A realistic assessment is that a key element for the possibility of return is first of all the labor reintegration of the migrant workers, which also constitutes the basic prerequisite for the existence of the entire family. Their own

funds, obtained through their work abroad, should be extremely important for the involvement of the returnees in work, but this possibility is not sufficiently utilized. The emigrants postpone returning, while the Yugoslav economy and citizens continue to suffer from a shortage of goods and services, especially on the small business level.

It is obvious that in the last few years there have been significant changes in the Yugoslav migration movements; there are more and more Yugoslav citizens living in the host countries, while proportionately fewer are working. The children of the emigrants are a factor over which a decision to return is most easily made, but more and more, people are deciding on a longer stay or a long-term one. The vast majority of Yugoslav citizens remain attached to their country, and maintain numerous contacts with it, such as various forms of social gatherings in the host country, reading the Yugoslav press, and several visits a year to their native communes. It is likewise clear, however, that the emotional tie to Yugoslavia often yields to the logic of the everyday "ubi bene, ibi patria." The decision on returning to Yugoslavia is therefore made by weighing what one has in the foreign country against what one would like to have in one's homeland.

Fuller and more effective utilization of the resources obtained by means of emigration is becoming more and more necessary. It is evident that our community is not sufficiently wealthy and self-sufficient to neglect the fact that the migrant worker does not mean an additional burden on development, but is rather, through his work, innovations, and foreign exchange resources, a significant production force, the productive utilization of which is a necessary precondition for the social and economic exploitation of the emigration process.

Table IV: Return Movements of Yugoslav Migrant Workers

Year	Employed	Returned	Returnees/Emigrants
1968	80,000	20,000	25.0
1969	130,000	60,000	46.2
1970	240,000	70,000	29.2
1971	145,000	65,000	44.8
1972	145,000	55,000	37.9
1973	115,000	25,000	21.7
1974	30,000	80,000	266.7
1975	25,000	65,000	260.7
1976	20,000	65,000	325.0
1977	20,000	40,000	200.0
1978	32,000	42,000	131.2
1979	35,000	40,000	114.3
1980	30,000	27,000	90.0
1981	30,000	28,000	93.1
1968-81	1,007,000	705,000	

FOOTNOTES

1. The data on the number of Yugoslav workers and citizens are from the documentation of the Center for Migration Research in Zagreb, and are for the most part based on host country statistics, the scope of which is more complete than the statistics of the SIZs [self-managing interest communities] for employment in Yugoslavia.

2. In gross terms, "remittance" includes all payments made to a citizen's foreign exchange account, as well as foreign exchange funds sent from abroad but paid in dinars, all in the course of one year. The net approach covers the balance of the increase in foreign exchange accounts, as well as foreign exchange funds sent from abroad but paid in dinars, all in the course of one year.

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